

CHANDRA (L.)

Ph.D. 1940.
(Ancient Indian History.)



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Title

"The Political and Cultural History of the
Panjab, including the North-West Frontier Province,
in its earliest period".

Thesis submitted to the University of London for the
Internal Ph.D. Degree (Faculty of Arts) in September, 1940.

Lakshmi Chandra

Lakshmi Chandra

P R E F A C E

The thesis submitted forms only part of a comprehensive work on the early history/ of the Panjab, material for which has been collected during the course of my study in England. It gives for the first time a detailed account (*) of the Panjab, including the North-West Frontier Province, in its earliest period.

In the first place it may be pointed out that references to the Panjab in ancient texts on the whole are scanty, but the country has proved to be comparatively rich in materials, as a result of recent excavations at Harappa in the District of Montgomery and other contemporary sites in the Indus Valley. These excavations, as will be seen, have yielded antiquities of high historical and cultural value and made the history of India the most glorious and renowned throughout the world. Hence history of ancient Panjab that has become specially interesting is an important desideratum of Indian studies. The only history proper available at present is one written long ago in 1891 by K.B. Muhammad Latif, who, strangely enough, devoted some seventy five pages only to the early periods

(*) So far as the ancient period is concerned, history of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces is very closely interrelated; the description of one without the other would be inadequate and at the same time misleading.

periods in his otherwise quite extensive and useful book, and as such can hardly be called complete and satisfactory, apart from its being now quite out of date.

The part of history described in the following pages is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is General Introduction dealing with subjects as are essential for the understanding of history, such as ancient boundaries, nomenclature, physical geography, language and population. The next chapter, The Dawn of Panjab History, gives pre-history of the country which is almost archaeological, based as it is on the Indus Valley finds. The third chapter again divided into two parts deals fully with history of Aryans in the Panjab, the first part including the story previous to their entry into that country. This is followed by a chapter describing Aryan Culture evolved in the ancient Panjab or the Sapta Sindhu, as early Aryans used to call it. Here the contact of Aryans with the former people in the Sapta Sindhu, and the influence of the latter's institutions on the Aryan Civilization have been noticed, wherever possible. The last chapter of the thesis contains a legendary account, as found in late traditions, of Aryans, with special reference to those of the Panjab. Its main feature is an examination of the theory propounded by Pargiter on the origin of Aryans in the mid-Himalayan region and on beginnings of their

history in the Gangetic rather than in the Indus Valley.

As to the sources of this history, it may be said that they are practically the same as those of history of ancient India - primary texts in Sanskrit, Pali, etc., foreign records, inscriptions and archaeological material. But all of them, when studied from the point of view of the Panjab, yield very interesting and valuable results. In addition, the relevant modern books written by eminent scholars and publications, such as Memoirs, Journals, Reports, etc. have been read and utilized in the present study. All these sources - original as well as modern works - will be found properly quoted in footnotes and elsewhere in the thesis.

It will not be out of place to mention here that my interest in the subject of ancient history of India and that of the Panjab, in particular, began with the Alexandra (History) Research Studentship held by me for three years at the University of the Panjab, previous to my appointment in the Education Department, Government of the Panjab. This study however received a setback for considerable time owing to teaching work in a college of such a nature as would not permit me to do any research. Nevertheless, I always felt the absence of Panjab history a serious gap in Indian historical studies, especially as early histories of many other parts of India had been

written up, and made available to University Students and other readers. It is indeed unfortunate that up till now little or no attempt has been made to build up history of this great historic country having so wonderful and varied past. The importance of the subject was however realised lately by authorities of the Education Department who have made the writing of this history possible by granting me the necessary leave to study abroad for the purpose, for which I cannot but feel sincerely thankful to them.

In this connection I must also acknowledge a deep debt due to my revered Supervisor, Dr. Lionel David Barnett, C.B., Litt.D., M.A., F.B.A., of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, late Keeper of Oriental Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. It has been a great privilege to work under the able guidance of a professor like him, a master of the history, the literature and the thought of India. I am particularly grateful to him for valuable comments and stimulating suggestions which he has so readily and cheerfully given throughout the period of my studies in London and in Cambridge, despite the constant strain of the murderous air war raging at the moment.

Cambridge,
September, 1940.

Lakshmi Chandra

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

An. Rep., A.S.I.	= Annual Reports, Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.I. Memoirs	≠ Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs.
B.S.O.S.	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
C.I.I.	= Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
I.H.Q.	= Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Ant.	= Indian Antiquary.
J.A.	= Journal Asiatique.
J.A.O.S.	= Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.S.B.	= Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.I.H.	= Journal of Indian History.
J.P.U. His.Soc.	= Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society.
J.R.A.S.	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.D.O.C.	= Mittheilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
New Ind.Ant.	= New Indian Antiquary.
O.L.Z.	= Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P.S.B.A.	= Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
P.T.S.	= Pali Text Society.
T.S.B.A.	= Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

continued

- W.Z.K.M. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des
Morgenlandes.
- Q.D.M.G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft.

C O N T E N T S

Preface

Chapters

I General Introduction -

ancient boundaries, nomenclature, physical
geography, language and population.

II The Dawn of Panjab History.

III Aryans in the Panjab.

Part (i)

Part (ii)

IV Aryan Culture in the Sapta Sindhu.

V The Origin of Aryans in Later Tradition.

Chapter I

General Introduction

The Panjab, the history of which this thesis endeavours to relate in its earliest period, is a vast and compact territory lying in the north-west of India. Constituted to-day as a Province of the British administration, it is formed of a country, enclosed on the west by the river Indus as far as Attock, on the north by the lofty Himalayan ranges that divide it from Kashmir, on the east by the river Jumna with its tributary the Tons, and on the south by the Bikaner and Jaisalmer States of Rajputana. The western extremity of the Province also falls beyond the Indus, and forms the District of Dera Ghazi Khan, extending as far as the Sulaiman Range, which divides it from Baluchistan, and the Tahsil of Isa Khel in the Mianwali District. The Province thus adjoins Sind and Baluchistan on the south-west, the North-West Frontier Province on the west and north-west, the Kashmir State on the north, Chinese Tibet on the border north-east of the sources of the Jumna, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh on the east as well as the extreme south-east, and lastly, the Rajputana desert on the south. (*)

(*) The small province of Delhi, mainly on the west of the Jumna, is, properly speaking, not to be considered out of the historic Panjab. This was separated from it about thirty years ago on the transfer (1911) of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

But the student of history hardly needs the caution that the name Panjab has not always implied one and the same particular area in history; it has been used in different periods for different territories. Before the latest conditions set in, often, it will be seen, we have to cross the Indus in order to give the proper and satisfactory explanation of the name. Thus the Panjab, at the time of its annexation from the Sikhs in 1849, included in its bounds, in addition to the territory between the Indus and the Satluj and the cis-Satluj States of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha belonging to the Sikh chiefs, (*) also the trans-Indus region, stretching to the foothills of the rivers Swat, Kabul, Kurram and Gumal and those of the Sulaiman Range, i.e. the region from the District of Peshawar in the north to the District of Deva Ghazi Khan in the south. All these territories east and west of the Indus had previously formed the sovereign State of the Panjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. (§) The Districts of Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon in the south-east, as also portions of Karnal and Ferozepur Districts, which all constituted the rest of cis-Satluj territory and previously formed part of Agra Province, had, for geographical, historical and

(*) Also known as the Phulkian States, from the Phulkian Misal (League).

(§) Kashmir had also been a dominion of the Maharaja. It was ceded after his death to the British by the Treaty of Lahore (1846) as the result of the First Sikh War, but was sold to a Dogra chieftain, Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. The present State of Kashmir and Jammu has existed since then; it was formerly controlled by the Panjab Government, but was placed under the direct political control of the Central Government of India in 1897.

political consideration, to be transferred to the Province of the Panjab after the Mutiny of 1857. Later on, however, a change was made in the year 1901, when the five trans-Indus Districts of the Panjab, viz. Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Deva Ismail Khan, and the cis-Indus Hazara District, together with the Five Tribal Areas of the same name as those of the Districts and the newly acquired area of protected tracts forming the Five Political Agencies of Malakand (Dir, Swat and Chitral), Khyber, Kurrane, Tochi (North Waziristan) and Wana (South Waziristan), were severed from the Panjab so as to form the separate North-West Frontier Province, under a Chief Commissioner, which became a Governor's Province recently in 1932.

Thus we see that the Panjab, which at the present day is conterminous only with the British Province, including the associated Native States, comprised before 1901 practically the whole of north-western India, north of Sind and Rajputana and west of the river Jumna, with the exception of Kashmir with its several Himalayan ranges and three small strips of Baluchistan subject to British rule. In other words, the name Panjab was applied to the area now included in what are known as the Provinces of the North-West Frontier and the Panjab (including the small Province of Delhi). As to the

boundaries previous to the British conquest and the Sikh sway, the student of Panjab history has to remember that throughout mediaeval times its political frontiers have likewise varied, and that the ancient Panjab was also different in size and environment from that of to-day. But it must be noted that although the political boundaries of the country have differed from age to age, its geographical limits have been marked out by nature in a manner sufficient to help it to retain its cultural identity to a great extent, more particularly in early periods when even the highlands of Afghanistan were included in its bounds.

The northern boundary of the Panjab in the past, it would seem, went right as far as the foothills of the Hindu Kush Mountains, the snowy Ranges of Pir Panjal, Dhaulādhāra and Zaskar. In the extreme north-west, though still unexplored, the tract west of the Indus, forming part of the ancient janapadas (aristocratic republics) of Gandhāra and Kamboja and watered by the Swat, Panjkora and Kunar, has yielded clear traces of Indian culture and religion. (*) Furthermore, the Pathans inhabiting this tract have been identified with

(*) Read in this connection A. Foucher, Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra, 1902, Eng. translation by H. Hargreaves, Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra, 1915, and L'Art greco-bouddhique de Gandhāra, Vol I, 1905; Vol II, 1918 and 1922. The presence of the humped bull on the coins of the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) recalls a feature of the culture that flourished in the Panjab about 5000 years ago.

Pakthas, an Aryan tribe mentioned in the R̥gveda and with the Paktues of Herodotus, a Greek writer of the fifth century B.C. In the north between the Indus and the Jehlam, the present District of Hazara (Urāsā in Sanskrit) with the lower valley of the river Kṛshṇaganga in the north-east, now attached to the Frontier Province, belonged to the historic Panjab, its language being similar to western Panjabi i.e. Lahnda, and its people akin to those of the Panjab. The same is the case with the montane and submontane tracts, now in Kashmir State, the ancient
 (*) Abhisāra between the Jehlam and the Chanab, and the
 (§) ancient Dārva between the Chanab and the Ravi, from the two ancient tribes called Abhisāra (Abhisares of Alexander's historians) and Dārva, by whom both the tracts were inhabited. The names of the dialects spoken in this border are Lahnda and Dogra, both, as we shall see closely connected with the Panjabi language proper. Beyond this the country stretches right up to the uppermost courses of the Chanab, the Ravi, the Bias and the Satluj, that is to say, up to the central Himalayan Range of Zaskar, which forms the

(*) Abhisāra territory is now called Chhibbal, and includes Punch (Parnotsa), Rajauri (Rajapurī) and Himbar.

(§) Dārva is the home of sturdy Dogras. Its modern name is Dugar or Dogar from Durgava (not from Dvigarta as sometimes derived.)

boundary between the Panjab and Kashmir, separating the two outlying portions of the Kangra District, Lahul and Spiti, from Ladakh. All this territory, including Chamba State, on this side of the northern border has been quite independent of Kashmir and has been as much bound up with the Panjab in former times as to-day. This is quite evident from the similarity of its language, people and religious beliefs, as also from the inscriptions and other antiquities of Chamba State, which go back to the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era.

The southern limit of the ancient Panjab was slightly different from what we know of it in comparatively recent and modern times. Its territory lay further to the south, including the northern portions of the Bikaner and Jaisalmer States, through which flowed the perennial Sarasvatī river, and upper Sind east of the Indus, which formed the lower portion of Sauvīra-deśa, an important political unit in the Panjab. On the east the Jumna has generally formed the dividing line between the Valley of the Indus and that of the Ganges. It is wrong to suppose that the region immediately west of the Jumna lay outside the limits of the Panjab in early days. The R̥gveda, the most ancient literary work produced in that country, does not exclude the plains of Sirhind and Thanesar which are associated with the Bharatas and included in the Indus Valley. So also some traditions of historical character preserved in

later literature show that the janapadas flourishing in this part have been politically more allied to the central and western Panjab than to the country in the east. The definition of Uttarāpatha, the so-called northern region of Brahmanic India, as formulated in certain Sanskrit texts, which excludes this eastern tract, is to be understood as based originally on the extent of cultural influences recognised by the Brahmans of the Gangetic Valley; in fact, as will be seen, it had little reference to real political conditions. On the other hand there is evidence to believe that the Uttarāpatha or Northern Route, like the Dakshināpatha or Southern Route, "lent its name to the region through which it passed", and signified the whole northern region covering the north-western part of the United Provinces and the whole of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces. The use of the word Uttarapatha nearly in this sense by Bāṇa in his semi-historical work, the Harshacharita, is very significant. It seems to include within its area the western part of the United Provinces; not to speak of the tract on the west of the Jumna. (*) This is further confirmed by the explicit mention of the Uśīnaraś as a

(*) B.C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, London 1932, Chapter II, pp 48-49.

(*)

people of the Panjab, while they are mentioned otherwise as neighbours of Kuru-Pañchālas, living in the so-called Madhya-deśa, i.e., Middle Country or mid-India. (§)

As regards the limits on the west, they extended beyond the Indus from the river Kabul right below as far as the Bolan Pass in the Province of British Baluchistan. It is a well-known fact that some places either now bear or have borne formerly, names which can with certainty be traced to early Vedic or later Classical Sanskrit sources. Notwithstanding, it is sometimes asserted that the Indus formed the western extremity of the Panjab. A glance, however, at the early history of the north-western India will show how much the country beyond the Indus has been connected with the Indus region on the east. The evidence furnished by the prehistoric remains from Waziristan and the valley of the river Zhōh, the Yavyāvatī of the R̥gveda, lead us almost to a definite conclusion that the trans-

(*)References from some of the later Vedic and other texts indicate that the culture of the area just west of the Jumna gravitated for the most part towards the east, so much so that in the five-fold Brahmanic division of India, which continued to exist as late as the time of Rājasekhara (12th cent.A.D.), the author of the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, this area along with its people is mentioned as a part of the Madhya-deśa, and the rest of the north-western India included in the Uttarāpatha. This, however, does not mean that the tribes living on the right bank of the Jumna were cut off from the Panjab. Rather their political and social relations undoubtedly existed on both sides of the river, as will appear from the activities of the tribes established there, viz., the Bharatas, Puru-Kurus, Uśīnaras, Śālvas, etc.

Indus region was allied to the people of the Indus Valley. The Pass of Bolan and the District of Sibi are the traditional southern boundaries of the Afghan country. The Valleys of Quekka-Pishin, Loralai and upper Zhōb in the present Province of Baluchistan, and the areas known as Waziristan, Kurram, Afridi-Tirah, and the Mohmand country in the North-West Frontier Province form really British Afghanistan. The Afghans as a race, barring the foreign elements among them, are a link between India and Iran, and so is their country. Anciently, however, they were connected more with India than with Iran. The R̥gveda enumerates all the important western tributaries of the Indus; (*) it also mentions the Pakthas, the modern Pathans, and the Bhalānases, the people of Bolan, as regular Aryan tribes. The earliest known invaders or occupants of Afghanistan were doubtless Aryans, who also migrated into the Indus Valley. This may account for the greater resemblance of the eastern tribes in physical features to those of their Panjabi neighbours. (§) At the same time, the traditions of later Indian literature, Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. and notices of Greek

(*) See Chapter III, Part (ii), pp 176-177.

(§) The present population of Afghanistan in general is a mixture of various peoples as the result of comparatively recent and strong migrations, the latest being that of the Tajiks.

writers show that the people and country immediately west of the Indus belonged to India.

Fortunately, we have a few allusions in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zarathustrians, which throw some further light on the conditions that obtained in the west of the Indus at an early date. Prof. Jackson (*) says, "There are likewise a number of Avestan names of places located south of the Hindu Kush in the territory that once at least was common in part to the Indians and the Iranians and has had, as a natural borderland, an important influence upon India's history in later ages. A portion of these domains corresponds to a considerable section of Afghānistān and possibly to a part of Baluchistān, realms now under direct British influence or included politically as a part of the Indian Empire. One of the proofs of this community of interest is the fact that the territory of Arachosia (Av. Harahvaitī, O.P. Hara (h) uvatī), which corresponds to the modern province of Kandahār, was known, at least in later Parthian times, as 'White India'." (§) Further quoting J. Darmesteter he writes, "Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two

(*) The Cambridge History of India, Vol I, edited by Prof. E. J. Rapson, 1922, Chapter XIV, p 326.

(§) Ibid, p 327.

centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman Conquest".

As illustration of this statement we may add that the Indian (Indo-Aryan) language was predominant in eastern Afghanistan from the first settlement of the Afghan race in the land of the Pakthas or Pathans. According to philologists, Pashto or Pakhto which the Pathans speak now is based on an Indo-Aryan primary dialect like Sanskrit. Again, the language of the Kharoshthī inscriptions, found between the Swat valley in the north and Sui Vihar and Mohenjo-Daro in the south and Loralai in the west, which was current there in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era, is another evidence to show that the frontier line of ancient Panjab ran farther west than at the present day.

There is thus no need to doubt that the territories in eastern Afghanistan and Northern Baluchistan that are contiguous to the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces were occupied by Panjabis for many centuries from pre-historic times down to the tenth century A.D. How far exactly they extended to the west cannot be satisfactorily determined. Nevertheless, without extending the limit too far, there is every reason to believe that the valleys of the river Kabul (Kubhā) and its tributaries Swat

(Suvāstu) etc, and those of the Kurram (Krumu), the Hariōb (Hariyūpiyā), the Gumal (Gomatī) and the Zhōb (Yavyāvatī) were all included within the historic Indus Valley.

The name 'Panjab' literally signifies the 'Land of the Five Rivers', that is, the country watered by the Jehlam, the Chanab, the Ravi, the Bias and the Satluj. But it will be seen from what we have just said that the cultural and political Panjab had often included more than what the name itself denotes. Hence before we proceed further with the historical geography of the country, it is essential to know the history and significance of this name, as well as other names by which our country was designated.

At first it may be noted that the name 'Panjab' which is current at the present day was not used in early times. It is made up of two words, pañj and āb, meaning five waters = five rivers; it is thus undoubtedly foreign, i.e. Persian (*) in this form, being introduced by the early Muslim conquerors. In origin, however, the name is indigenous, for the word Pañchanada occurs in old Sanskrit literature as the name of the 'Land of the Five Rivers', the specific rivers meant thereby being the Vitastā, the Chandrabhāgā, Irāvātī,

(*) Abu-Rihan, Muhammad (Al-Beruni) already knew this name. See his Tahqiq-i-Hind written in 1030 A.D. (edited and translated into English by Prof. Sachau).

(*) which
 Vipāśā and Satadru, /are respectively the Jehlam, the
 Chanab, the Ravi, the Bias and the Satluj. (§)
 But the
 earliest mention of these Five Rivers in the collective
 sense is found in the Yajurveda, where the Panjab is
 described as the 'Land of Rivers'. The word Panjab is
 thus only a later rendering of the old appellation of the
 Country, i.e. Pañchanada. (o)

(*) Pañchanadyo vahan^oetā yatra pīluvanācny uta,
 Satadruś cha Vipāśā cha tritīyairāvati tathā,
 Chandrabhāgā Vitastā cha Sindhu-shashthā bahir gireh.

(Mahābhārata (Calcutta edition), Bk VIII (Karnaparva),
 Chapter XLIV, verses 31-32; Cf. P.P.S. Sastri's
 edition in southern recension, 1935, Chapter 38,
 verses 1-2. Also Cf. Nagesa Bhatta on Pāṇini's Sūtra
 I, 1,75. in his Mahābhāṣya - prādīpodyōta, Bibliotheca
 Indica, Calcutta 1901, Vol I, p.839).

To say with certain scholars that the term Pañchanada
 included the Indus, or with Major Raverty (J.A.S.B., Vol
 LXI, Part I, 1892 p 214, f.n.) that it excluded the Satluj
 and included an unstated tributary of one of the other
 four rivers, is altogether incorrect. The quotation given
 above has a clear statement on the point.

(§) See below the section on rivers.

(x) Vājasaneyī Samhitā, xxxiv,2.

(o) Another variation of this name is Pañchāmbu, which occurs
 in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (12th.cent.A.D.) in
 Sūryaprabhalambaka, story No 12, Fifth Taraṅga, but here
 the author seems to have sanskritized the word Panjab.
 This is not the only instance of late sanskritization
 of proper names in ordinary use. One Śrīvara also when
 relating an expedition of Sultan Haider Shāh into the
 Panjab, sanskritized the name Jehlam into Jyalami (Jaina
 Rājatarāṅgini, Cal 1835, 11, 152).

But it must be borne in mind that the early name Pañchanada was only a geographical one based upon a prominent feature of the rivers in the Indus region and was applied to the limited territory traversed by the Five Rivers above mentioned. Now a study of nomenclatures of various countries in the world shows that in some cases the original boundaries of geographical units have hardly been stationary. They were rather subject to constant shiftings and modifications owing to the pressure of political and cultural circumstances. This naturally sometimes extended the name to wider areas. The same has happened with the 'Land of the Five Rivers' and the name Panjab, a substitute of Pañchanada, which has been used for different wider territories in different periods. At any rate, for the extended meaning imposed on the name of Panjab, the country is mainly indebted to the Muslim and British rulers of India. (*)

In fact, from the geographic and historic standpoint, a more appropriate name is Sapta Sindhu, 'Land of the

(*) A similar thing is seen in the name of England, which is composed of enge, the Norse name for a meadow, and land. When the Norsemen over-ran and conquered the country in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., they were struck by the extent and richness of the pasture lands of Yorkshire and the central country, and called it Enge-land. This name in course of time came to be applied to a wider area. The confusion of Engeland with Angle-land perhaps arose from the fact that the district so named was really occupied by Anglians.

Seven Rivers', which was given to the Country by the Rgvedic Aryans. This is the earliest name that is known to have been used for the Panjab, and is expressive of the country watered by the great river Indus and its famous tributaries on the east and west. (*) Another name, not however based on the physical character of the country, was Bāhlikā or Bāhika. (§) From numerous passages in the Mahābhārata and from a number of Sūtras of Pāṇini with the comments on them, we gather that the name Bāhlikā Bāhika or Vāhika, which was originally a tribal name, traceable as early as the Atharvaveda, later came to be applied to the greater part of the Indus valley in its wider sense, comprising a number of tribes including the well-known Madras or Madrakas. These Madras themselves in their turn gave the country the name Madra-deśa, which continued to be used as late as the time of Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708). But this latter name does not appear to have received as extensive an application as that of Bāhlikā (Bāhika or Vāhika), which

(*) For full discussion of the name Sapta Sindhu see below Chapter III, Part (ii), pp. 185-187.

(§) Both these words (also spelt Vāhlikā, Vāhika or Vāhika) which are clearly the variants of an old form Bahlika (Atharvaveda) occur in corresponding passages of various MSS. of the Mahābhārata, and possibly similar variation may be found in MSS. of other texts in which they are used. It seems to us most likely that old Bahlika, later Bāhlikā, Bāhika, etc. are all best explained as Prakrit forms derived from Bhālika, which again is a later form of Bhadrīka (See below p. 63). It may be observed that the development of old Indo-Aryan into Prakrit began very early: even in the Rgveda we find the Prakrit forms have been used. One is then tempted to think of the Bhadrās of the Panjab and connect them with Bahlikas.

(*)

roughly coincided with the modern Panjab.

This will show that the Bāhlikas and Madras left traces of their respective political sovereignty over a large part of the Panjab. This country, like other parts of India, in its earlier periods has generally been divided into different janapadas and petty states. The political unification, however, if it was achieved in any degree, or to any extent, on some occasions, was short-lived. Nevertheless these names of the Bāhlikas and Madras indicate that at least on two occasions in early history the Panjab janapadas came under the hegemony of single local State, first under the Bāhlikas and secondly under their successors the Madras, (x) and the whole Indus Valley again was unified politically when Chandragupta established the great Mauryan Empire at Pāṭalīputra (Patna), with the help of an able Panjabi statesman, Vishnugupta Kauṭilya. But it is very strange to observe that all other names connected with the Indus Valley have passed into oblivion. Panjab alone has survived the attack of time, and having outgrown its original geographical association has proved its capacity

(*) Pañchānam Sindhu-shashthānam nadīnam ye'ntara sthitāh, tām Bāhlikān (or Bāhikan), etc. etc.

(Mahābhārata, Bk VIII, Chapter xliv in northern recension and Chapter xxxvii in southern recension), together with Pāṇini's Sūtra (IV, 2, 117 and 118), according to which the Uśīnara janapada formed part of the Vāhika country.

(§) We shall have occasion to speak in detail of Bāhlika-Madras in Chapter VI.

Vide (x) Dr H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, Third Edition, Calcutta 1932, p.182. Cf. Vamsatthapakasini, (continued)

to bear an almost unlimited territorial significance.

From the foregoing account of nomenclature and a brief outline of the boundaries, it would appear that the early history of the Panjab is not the history of Pañchanada 'Land of the Five Rivers', but that it covers a wider country that may include the frontier area, not definitely fixed, together with the region lying between the Satluj and the Jumna. The area so defined roughly corresponds to the Indus Valley or Sapta Sindhu in its widest sense, with varying limits on the west. In order to avoid all confusion, the scope of our enquiry into the ancient history will be strictly limited to the political boundaries set to the Provinces of the Panjab and North-West Frontier under the British administration to-day. The history of both these Provinces being very closely inter-related, the description of one without the other would be inadequate and at the same time misleading. Therefore throughout the present thesis the term "the Panjab" is to be understood in its broadest sense so as to comprehend both the Provinces; the term "Panjab Proper" has been used for the 'Land of the Five Rivers' or, strictly speaking, the country between the valley of the Jehlam and that of the Satluj.

Note continued) a commentary on the Mahāvamsa (a Pali chronicle of Ceylon), edited by Dr G.P. Malalasekera (P.T.S. London) and Jaina Parīśiṣṭaparvan, edited by Jacobi.

It is sometimes said that the history of the Panjab, so far as its earlier periods are concerned, is hardly of any interest. This is an altogether mistaken statement. It is true that much of its past history is lost in obscurity, but one cannot deny the obvious fact that the Panjab witnessed great events and movements, some of which lay at the foundation of later history of not only the Panjab itself but of India in general. It would indeed be very interesting if the missing historical links, particularly in the growth of social and religious institutions, could be traced out. Fortunately, the Panjab has recently proved to be comparatively rich in materials for such study as a result of the excavations at Harappa on the river Ravi in the District of Montgomery and other important contemporary sites in the Indus Valley. It was within the limits of the ancient Panjab or Sapta Sindhu that the early Aryans came into contact with the Harappa civilization. And here the earliest history of the Indo-Aryans had its beginning, here the Vedic civilization had its growth, and here again hymns of the R̥gveda, the most ancient literature in the world, were first composed and sung. Furthermore, it was the eastern plain on the Panjab bank of the Jumna that became the scene of that famous and historic Bhārata War, which was fought between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, the descendants of those Panjabī Pauravas who had formerly

migrated to the east for further Aryan colonization. But perhaps the most outstanding event in the early history was the rise in the Panjab of Chandragupta Maurya not long after the retreat of Alexander the Great in 321 B.C., when he was able to found the mighty Mauryan Empire with the assistance of the sturdy and warlike people of Āratta-^(*)deśa in the Panjab Proper. Many other important facts can be recounted likewise, which will go to show that the ancient history of the Panjab is not dull, but is really of great and wide interest to a student of history, religion and sociology.

(*) The name suggests a connection with the Āratta people of Pañchanada, called Arattai in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Schoff's edition, p 41), and similar other names by Greek and Latin writers, all apparently variants of the same word. The name Āratta of Sanskrit texts itself seems to be an adaptation of a Prakrit word, which luckily is preserved by Buddhist texts in the personal name Ārāḍa (This must be the origin of Pali Ālara through an intermediate Ārāla) and the ethnic name Aror. The latter apparently arose through an intermediate form Aroḍa, where the o is due to local pronunciation of a (on Prakrit change of a and ā to u or o see Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, §§ 104-6, 111).

This explains Alor or Ror (modern Rohri), the name of the capital of Sauvira-deśa in ancient Panjab, with earlier variants preserved in Buddhist texts as Roru, Roruka or Roḍuka. The word Āratta, in any case, is not to be derived from Sanskrit Arāshṭra, as is usually but erroneously supposed. We shall return to this point in Chapter VI in connection with the Bāhlika-Madras, who are mentioned as closely associated with Aratta-deśa and its people, the Arattas, who were the ancestors of the modern Aroḍas or Aroras.

But before we set sail upon the dark sea of history, it is necessary to glance briefly at the essential geographical facts, and also to understand the linguistic and ethnic conditions of the country we are about to describe. Geographically the historic Panjab may be divided into three divisions, mainly distinguished by their physical features:-

- (1) the Plains,
- (2) the Himalayan country,
- and (3) the trans-Indus Border Tract.

The area covered by the Plains between the Indus and the Jumna is very extensive and flat, bounded by the Himalayan ranges on the north-east and North and the desert of Rajputana on the south. The Plains north of the Satluj river comprise land of the Five Rivers, having five Doabs or tracts lying between two rivers: the Bist Jalandhar Doab, lying between the Bias and the Satluj; the Bari Doab, between the old bed of the Bias and the Ravi; the Rachna Doab, between the Ravi and the Chanab; the Chaj Doab, between the Chanab and the Jehlam; and the Sind-Sagar Doab, between the Indus and the Jehlam. These Doabs are said to have received their names from the Emperor Akbar, who designated them by combining the initial letters or syllables of the names of the rivers

(*) between which they lie. The present administrative Districts included in this area are in general subdivisions of the five Doabs enumerated above, and rarely lie on both sides of a river. (§) South-east of the Satluj only a strip of the Plains is watered by the Savasvatī (modern Ghaggar or Hakra) and its tributaries, when they are flowing in the rainy season. But on the whole a large part of this area, as well as the rest of the Plains skirting the great Rajputana desert, remains dry and unfertile, there being now no river and the rainfall being always scanty and precarious. The territories comprised between the Satluj and the Jumna are the cis-Satluj (x) Districts of the Province together with Delhi, the three

(*) It may be noted that the word doab is only a Persian equivalent of Sanskrit dvīpa, which originally was applied to a country between two waters, usually rivers (dvirāpatvāt smṛto dvīpah - Brahmandā Purāṇa, 53, 140; cf. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, edited by Kielhorn, Vol I, p 131). For example, the Mahābhārata (Bk II, Chapter XXVI, 5-6) mentions Sākala-dvīpa, which was no more than a country lying between the Ravi and the Chanab. Therefore it appears that Akbar or some of his predecessors took a hint from early nomenclature and distributed the country of the rivers into five Doabs called after their names, as shown above.

(§) The Districts included in the five Doabs are:- Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Montgomery, Mitteran, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Gujrat, Shahpur, Jhang, Jehlam, Rawalpindi, Campbellpur (Attock), Mianwali, and Muzaffargarh. To these may be added the State of Kapurthala, situated in the Bist Doab.

(x) Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal, Hissar, Rohtak, and Gurgaon.

Thulkian States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, and the
 large State of Bahawalpur. (*)

The vast Plains of the Panjab slope gradually towards the south and south-west, and according to geologists the greater portion of them formed part of a sea-bed up to the Post-Tertiary time. In these Plains are found a number of small sedimentary rocks of Peninsular type. These crop out in the Panjab Proper near the Chanab and Sangla and Chaniot and near Jehlam at Kariana, and in the extreme south-east in the Districts of Hissar, Gurgaon and Delhi. All of them at one time were islands washed by the Tertiary sea and formed a series of outliers of the Aravalli rocks, known as the Delhi system. Besides these, beyond the Chanab, between the lower hills and Plains rises the poorly wooded Salt Range with its eastern part mostly in the District of Jehlam. There it runs along the right bank of the Jehlam through the south of the river and the north of Shahpur District. The Range then crosses the Indus north of Mianwali at Kalabagh, and turning down the right bank of the Indus through the latter District, enters the North-West Frontier Province, where it follows the boundary between the Districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan till it joins the Sulaiman hills. The only other breaks in the mono-

(*) Other States in this area are Faridkot, Kalsia, Malerkotla, Loharu, Dujana and Pataudi.

tony of the Plains are some petty ridges of wind-blown sand, and the venerable mounds which represent the accumulated ruins of ancient and mediaeval sites.

These mounds, which, to judge from the excavations at Harappa on the Ravi, were once flourishing cities and towns, lie scattered over the Plains in large numbers. They are found away from the rivers and in the centre of (*) bārs or uplands of the Doabs, where in pre-canal days water-supply was so scarce that human habitation was not possible for a considerable time, showing that the meteorological conditions and some natural physical aspects have undergone changes. The existence of the ruined large or small cities in the uplands points to an unfailing supply of water sufficient to meet human requirements both for purposes of drink and irrigation. As a matter of fact in very early days in Panjab (§) enjoyed a bountiful rainfall, with a finer and cooler climate than today. Proofs of such different climatic conditions in the country have come to light within the last few years from the antiquities of Harappa, which contain representations on some monuments of animals, such as the tiger, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., now extinct in the Plains, obviously as a result of gradual desiccation which phenomenon has continued in the country until recently.

(*) As opposed to utār or lowlands.

(§) Sind also

Such was the Panjab, when Harappa civilization was flourishing about 5,000 years ago. And such in essentials it must have been when the Aryans migrated from the west into its fertile soil somewhere in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C., in whole tribes (janas) such as could not have maintained themselves there otherwise. A further proof of the Plains having been highly fertile is to be found in the mention of the prosperous land of the leading descendants of the Aryans, the Arattas (modern Avodas) and Jartas or Jārttikas (modern Jatts or Jāis), associated with the Bāhlika-Madras who, as it is evident from literature, organized a great confederation at Sākala, (*) (Sialkot) in the Rachna Doab. The upland of Sākala-dvīpa, between the Ravi and the Chanab, now irrigated and colonized on modern methods, does not seem to have been always such a barren waste land as it was recently. Moreover, the inference that climatic conditions were more favourable to irrigation and agriculture even in the sixth century B.C., although the process of desiccation had by then converted some fertile tracts of the Plains into deserts, (§) is supported by the fact that of the twenty satrapies the Persian Empire that of Hind,

(*) It was called Sākala by the Buddhists. In the Mahābhārata Sākala is spoken of as the capital of the Bāhlika-Madras, situated on the Apagā Nadī, now a small stream, known as Ayak Nālā.

(§) E.g. the Thal, a large sandy desert, in the Mianwali District on the left bank of the Indus.

i.e. Sindhu-deśa (the Indus country), now mainly a desert area along the right bank of the Indus, yielded a revenue equal to a third of the whole Empire. (*)

But the most remarkable feature in the Plains of the Panjab is seen in its six large rivers, namely, the Indus, the Jehlam, the Chanab, the Ravi, the Bias and the Satluj. All these rivers rise beyond the Himalayan Wall or central ranges of the Himalayas, and after traversing for hundreds of miles the snow-clad mountainous regions debouch into the Plains. In ancient times there was yet a seventh river - the Sarasvatī, united with the Drshadvatī and Āpayā, which flowed between the Satluj and the Jumna, but which disappeared owing to the ravages of desiccation at a very early date. It is now called Ghaggar or Hakra, and represented by channels, nearly dry for a great part of the year, but it flows in the rainy season into the south-eastern Plain at Ād-Badri in Ambala District and at Pehoa near Karnal, as also over a vast space of the now desert country eastwards of the Indus. The present condition of the Drshadvati is similar to that of the Sarasvatī. As already stated, the southern Panjab was not so dry in ancient times as it is today. People inhabited the whole area through which the Sarasvatī flowed and built towns and forts along its north and

(*) This revenue was paid in gold-dust (See Chapter VII below).

south banks. It is possible that some of the old sites and fortified places, such as Walar (Sardargarh), Phulra, Mirgarh, Marot, Maujgarh, Dingarh, Derāwar, etc., along the lower course of the Ghaggar may have remains of still older towns hidden under their mounds. The Jumna is not included in the hydrography of the Panjab, as it forms only the eastern boundary. It was not included in the computation of the Seven Rivers - Sapta Sindhavah of the Rgvedic ages.

Of all the seven big rivers of ancient Panjab, the Indus, which is the greatest, ^(*) needs a special mention here. It is one of the great rivers which have been famous from earliest times and were intimately associated with the rise of civilization in prehistoric days. Recent excavations on and near the old beds of the Indus and its tributaries, such as the Ravi and the Bias, bear testimony to the existence of a great civilization, better known as the Indus Valley civilization, which appears to have reached its zenith in the third millennium B.C. In some elements, as is shown by comparison, this civilization was more advanced than that of ancient Mesopotamia or Elam in Western Asia. A detailed account of the remains

(*) The word Sindhu, Sindha or Sind means a great river, and was applied to the Indus. The Persians called it Hindu or Haindava, while the Greeks, following them, named it Indus. The Chinese designations of India T'ien-chu, Shen-tu, Sien-tou, Hien-tou, Yin-tu, etc are all apparently derived from Sindhu. It is again the Mehran of Muslim writers from the tenth century onwards.

recovered in the Indus Valley and the culture indicated thereby will be given in the next chapter. Then, as the historical period dawns upon ancient Panjab, we find the Indus Valley in the possession of Indo-Aryans, on whose imagination the Indus with its wealth and traditions seems to have made a very powerful impression. That the river really inspired a great reverence and affection in the Aryans in the Panjab is evident from the many happy references to it in early Indian literature. Notable expression of this is to be found in the Rgveda, where the Sindhu is praised picturesquely in one separate hymn (*) (Bk X, 75) and also in several passages along with other rivers. It is indeed a matter of great pride for Panjabis to be associated with this great and venerable river Sindhu. From this stream India takes its name through Old Persian 'Hindu' and Greek 'Indus', terms having been originally used for the river as also for the country on the river, extended to denote later the whole land lying beyond it - northern Hindustan and the Deccan.

The hydrography of the Panjab, it may be noted, is a complicated problem which, owing to its great importance for the early history of the country, has always received special notice from a number of scholars. (§) The rivers

(*) Read specially stanzas Nos 2, 4 and 8.

(§) For courses of Panjab rivers see A History of the Panjab by Mohd Latif, Calcutta 1891, pp 1-10; On changes of their courses: General Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp 253-56 (Majumdar's edition, Calcutta 1924); Major Raverty, J.A.S.B. Vol LXI, Part I (1892), together (continued)

flow in their mountain stages in more or less fixed courses, while in the Plains, where the current is slow, they have constantly cut new channels for themselves and thus changed their courses. There is always little water in them during the cold weather season, "but when they are in flood, during the season of general rain, they overflow and flood the country on either side, often to a distance of several miles." All this has resulted on the one hand in the emergence of new land, and on the other in the complete or partial devastation of areas which had formerly been important centres of trade and government. Some of the rivers, once noted for their volume and size, e.g. the Sarasvatī, have gradually been silted up or reduced to small streams, strange and disappointing relics of their former grandeur and majesty. Unfortunately materials for historic study of the Panjab river-system are very scanty, while the changes that are known to have taken place in the Plains during the last (*) ten centuries are enormous. But this does not mean, as suggested by Major Raverty and some other scholars, that the main beds have moved to such an extent as to

(continued) with Extra Number, pp 155-508; Dr R.B. Whitehead, Ind.Ant., Vol LXI, 1932, pp 163-9; and Dr Khan's articles on Geography of the Panjab, published in five numbers of the Aligarh University Journal, 1935.

(*) These comparatively recent changes are known from the accounts furnished by Muslim writers on India (Dr Khan, loc.cit. and Nadur, Islamic Culture, Vol XI, October 1937).

29.
have undergone phenomenal changes. On the contrary, the
discovery of a city like Harappa on old bed of the Ravi,
says Dr R.B. Whitehead, (*) "should put the matter in its
proper perspective. The bed of a large river in an
alluvial plain may be twenty and even thirty miles wide.
The river is free to oscillate within these limits, but
may not have transgressed them for thousands of years."

It will not be out of place to refer here to some
of the known instances of alterations which the river-
courses in the Plains of the Panjab have undergone during
mediaeval and recent times.

(To be completed afterwards)

(*) loc.cit. p. 169.

There is thus no reason to doubt that in the process of transformation wrought by the constant changes in river courses, combined with the phenomenon of desiccation through which the Plains have periodically passed, several ancient rivers, places and monuments, mentioned in the early literary documents of India, as well as in the records of foreign writers, have been completely destroyed or reduced to obscurity, now lying far away from the populous towns or villages and the highways of trade and commerce. The familiar prehistoric site of Harappa is a good instance in point, showing the effect and extent of desiccation. Regarding the destruction of a place due to change in the river-course, it may be pointed out that the present writer himself heard at Multan in his school days of the complete disappearance of the original site of the old town of Dera Ghazi Khan, a centre of commercial transactions, during heavy Indus floods in the year 1912.

The second geographical division, the Himalayan country, falls into two zones (a) the north-eastern and (b) the north-western.

The north-eastern zone is bounded on the east and north by the high Wall of the mid-Himalayan ranges, separating the zone from Tibet and Ladakh (Kashmir). On the south-east of it lies the trans-Jumna District of Dehra Dun and the Native State of Tehri-Garhwal. Towards

the west and south-west the zone stretches as far as the Pir Pant̥sal Range, separating it from Jammu, and up to the Siwalik hills. These Siwaliks (Sanskrit Sapādalaksha) form a chain of broken hills, extending the foothills of the sub-Himalaya from the upper reaches of the Ganges to the Jehlam, and mark the first step upwards from the Plains, enclosing at intervals valleys^(*) of great richness that lie between them and the lower Himalayan ranges. The whole of our north-eastern zone is a mountainous country, traversed by a number of mid-Himalayan ranges forming watersheds of four great rivers of the Panjab Proper. Thus it includes the valley of the Satluj from the Tibetan Border at the Shipki Pass to the Siwalik hills in Ambala District; valleys of the Bias and the Ravi, from their sources to the Siwalik tracts of Kangra and Gurdaspur; and the Valley of the Chanab or Chandrabhāgā, (the two streams, the Chandra and the Bhāgā, unite lower down behind the Pangi Range and become the Chanab) as far as the Pir Pant̥sal, east of the Jammu.

In this north-eastern zone the Satluj valley may be divided into two portions - the upper and the outer. The former comprises Bashahr, the largest of the Simla Hill States, including the subdivision of Kunawar, on the

(*) Called Duns; Dehra Dun is the most famous of them all.

upper reaches of the river; while the latter includes the District of Simla, all adjoining areas and the foothill States^(*) of Suket and Bilaspur, and the submontane tract of Ambala District. Crossing them northwards to the valleys of the Bias and the Ravi, we have the States of Mandi and Chamba, the largest Panjab District of Kangra, including the subdivision of Kulu, Spiti and Lahul, as also the submontane tracts of Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur Districts. In former times as today, these valleys for the most part, excluding of course later importations, have been Panjabi in character; their dialects, people, religious beliefs and practices are all similar to those found in the Panjab. When Buddhism was introduced into the north-west, it also spread over this corner of the Panjab, so much so that it attracted the Buddhist pilgrim from China, Hiuen Tsang, who passed through it in 635 A.D. Audumbara, Trigarta, Kulūṭa, Kuninda (or Kulinda) were the ancient names of the important peoples and their janapadas in these valleys, with their territories going even beyond the Siwalik hills into the Plains. They are all mentioned^(§) in coins, and in the lists of peoples lying to the north

(*) The foothill State of Sirmur (Nahan), though situated far from the Satluj valley, on the right bank of the Jumna, is to be understood as a part of the north-eastern zone.

(§) See J. Allan, Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India, London 1936, Introduction, pp ~~LXXXIII~~ lxxxvii, cxxxi-cxl, c, and cl-civ.

of India given in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, Varahmihāra's Brhatsaṃhitā, etc. The most northerly (and perhaps the most prosperous) of these were the Audumharas; (*) southward of them were the Trigartas and Kulūtas on the upper Bias and the Satluj, and the Kunindas eastward of the Trigartas in the upper Satluj valley.

The second zone of the Himalayan country in the north-west corner lies between the rivers Jehlam and the Indus, which mainly contains the hills of the Pir Pantsal Range. After crossing the Jehlam these hills run up the eastern boundary of Rawalpindi District and cut off the Murree area and a part of Kahuta Tahsil in that District. Beyond this northward is the cis-Indus montane and sub-montane District of Hazara (now in the North-West Frontier Province), stretching to a westward spur of Nanga Parhat. The Babusar Pass which crosses from Kashmir makes its extreme northern limit, and its north-eastern section, (\$) through which runs the Kunhar, a tributary of the Jehlam,

of

(*) The State/Chambya is situated in the extreme north. It is a storehouse of antiquities, some of which go back to the sixth century A.D. We are, however, at present in the dark as to its earlier history. Possibly it may have been connected with the Audumbara people all settled in the neighbourhood and wielded great influence in that area.

(§) The Kunhar joins the Jehlam below the confluence of the Kṛshnagaṅgā, another tributary running parallel to the Kunhar in Kashmir.

is comprised in the sixty miles long Kaghan valley. It is remarkable that Mansehra, a principal town in Hazara at present, was one of the northern posts of the Mauryan Empire under Asoka (3rd cent.B.C.); as many as fourteen edicts of this Emperor have been found, inscribed in Kharoshthī script, on rocks in its vicinity. The hills of Hazara on the whole are occupied by the tribes who are mostly allied to the stalwart Panjabis and speak a Panjabi dialect. Their country formed in ancient times the greatest part of Uraśa-deśa, often referred to in the Rājataranginī.^(*) It is the Arsa or Varsa of Ptolemy and U-la-shi of Hiuen Tsang. The ruler of Uraśa, it is now pretty certain, figures as Arsakes in the accounts of Alexander's invasion of the Indus Valley.

The remainder of the Panjab under review consists of the trans-Indus Border Tract. As is evident from the recent excavations made in territories east and west of the river Indus, which have revealed similar cultural conditions, and from the evidence of the Rgveda in respect of the early Aryans living on both of its sides, we may say that the Indus never formed a dividing line for the early inhabitants in the Panjab. Nor was the river always a barrier in later times, for the region lying to the west of it was often either under one or the other

(*) A Sanskrit chronicle of Kashmir by the poet Kalhana (12th. cent. A.D.)

Panjabi Power that could protect the whole Indus Valley against foreign invasion, or was a part of an Indian Empire. All the same the limits of the trans-Indus Frontier were never defined so that it is not possible to give it exact extent. For the purposes of this history, however, we are more concerned with the region which is at the present day under British occupation. It comprises the five settled Frontier Districts, namely, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dara Ismail Khan and a recently carved out District of Mardan north of Peshawar, together with the Tribal Areas of the same names, and the five Political Agencies of Malakand (Dir, Swat and Chitral), Khyber, Kurram, Tochi (North Waziristan) and Wana (South Waziristan). To this may be added the District of Dera Ghazi Khan and Isa Khel Tahsil of Mianwali. The whole of this area is bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush in its restricted sense, on the south by Sind, and on the west and south-west by Afghanistan and British Baluchistan. But in order to understand events and conditions of ancient as well as later Panjab, we must look beyond these bounds to the immediate country in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, situated on the Iranian plateau eastward, to which the area defined above is physically and also historically related. This extensive region stretches from the Hindu Kush in a wider sense in the

north down to the old highway that leads from Kandahar across the Khojak and Bolan Passes down to the Indus river, and forms the third division of our historic Panjab - the trans-Indus Border Tract. Traces of Indian names, culture and language in this area have already been noticed briefly in the section on boundaries; more will be described later in the succeeding chapters as the occasion will arise.

Topographically this Border Tract may be divided into two parts - the upper and the lower. The upper part contains mainly high mountain spurs of the Hindu Kush in the north, the valleys of the rivers Swat, Panjkora, Kunar, Alingar, Panjshir and Ghorband, and the great valley of the Kabul flowing towards the Indus, carrying the waters of its tributaries the Swat etc. The Hindu Kush has been the ancient natural boundary of the Indus Valley and also of India, separating the great river-system of the Oxus from that of the Indus. It now lies mostly in Afghan territory, and the British government has tried in vain to restore this geographical heritage of India. The country between the Hindu Kush and the Kabul is now
(*)
divided into Kohistan (roughly Malakand Political

(*) Kohistan is a wider area; it includes the valleys of the upper Swat and Panjkora, together with the valley higher up on the Indus in the north-west corner of India.

Agency), District of Mardan, Kafiristan and Lamghan. Here it is to be specially noted that we have in the high and almost impassable barrier of the Hindu Kush a few Passes that lead to the Kabul valley and thence to the Panjab through the famous Khyber Gate in the lofty ridge pierced by the river Kabul. However, obstacles in the approaches to these northernmost Passes are many, though the Passes themselves are not very inconvenient. Yet the difficulties are overcome by human efforts and the crossing of the mountainous frontier was achieved, though not very frequently. As a matter of fact, the most famous and frequented route that led from the basin of the Oxus to the Khyber Gate has been via Herat in the west, where the ranges of the Hindu Kush come to an end.

With regard to the geographical character of the lower part, that is, the Border area in the south of the Kabul valley, it must be pointed out in the first place that it has only a narrow strip of cultivated plain along the right bank of the Indus. Otherwise the region consists both within and outside the British Frontier of a succession of ranges, more or less parallel, striking as a whole from north-east to south-west, but throwing out minor branches westwards, thus stretching from the south of Kabul past Ghazni as far as Kandahār. From one of its easternmost portions, the very conspicuous Takht-i-Sulaiman,

rising wall-like above Dera Ismail Khan District, the whole belt of these ranges, south of the snowy Safed-Koh Range, has been conveniently designated as the Sulaiman system. These Sulaiman hills are at several points as lofty and imposing as the Pir Pantgal, but not so continuous, inasmuch as between them lie far-stretching valleys with average elevation from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. This accounts for the presence of several Passes which though difficult are quite practicable for large waves of migration or invading armies. One of them is Kurram, connecting the Indus valley with Afghanistan through Bannu by way of the river Kurram, which falls into the Indus. The next notable Pass is that of Tochi, made by the river Tochi, a tributary of the Kurram. This Pass offers a direct route from the Indus region to Afghanistan through Ghazni. Then we have the well-known Gumal Pass on the river Gumal, which flows near Dera Ismail Khan and finally joins the Indus. The river Zhōb (Rgvedic Yavyāvatī), in the valley of which have been discovered the ancient sites of Harappa type, runs through northern Baluchistan and meets the Gumal in the Political Agency of Wana in southern Waziristan. The famous Bolan Pass lies to the south on a route from Kandahār to Sukkar (near the ancient city of Alor, Ror or Roru) on the Indus via Quetta, the key-post of the British Frontier of India. Besides, it deserves to be mentioned

that between the Bolan and the Khyber Passes there exists a lateral communication, important in the history of the Panjab, by a route following a chain of valleys between Kabul and Kandahār through Ghazni. Several small Passes lead from this lateral road to the belt of the Sulaiman hills, which thus offer alternative outlets from the two important trunk routes of Khyber and Bolan.

But it must be remembered that the outstanding physical feature in the trans-Indus Tract are the rivers Swat (together with the Panjkora) and Kunar. They are both considerable streams, fed by glaciers and snowfields from the Himalayan range between the Indus and the Hindu Kush. Their lower valleys, together with the country south of the Kabul about Peshawar, formed the western half of the prosperous and historic Mahājanapada of Gandhāra, with Pushkafāvati (Charsadda) as its principal city near the confluence of the Swat and the Kabul, and the eastern half of Gandhāra lying below Urasā (Hazara) between the Jehlam and the Indus, with the famous city of Takshasīlā (modern Taxila in Rawalpindi District) as its capital. The valley of the Kunar higher up was called Kambhoja, a janapada of Aryan Kshatriyas of the same name. The valley of the Swat higher up, the most fertile in this region, together with the adjacent territory of Buner to the south-east along the right bank of the Indus,

corresponded to the ancient Udayāna; 'The Garden' (Uddiyāna), a significant name traced from the writings of the Chinese pilgrims. The history of Kamboja, Gandhāra and Udayāna, as will be seen, has been very interesting and most intimately connected not only with that of the Indus valley and the Panjab Province, but also with that of the rest of India, as well as Iran and Bactria. From the tenth century A.D. onwards the region of these janapades, like other territories in the Frontier Province, including Hazara, was invaded by many alien (Afghan) tribes. (*) But in spite of this earlier remains are seen everywhere, which definitely indicate close connections with the east rather than with the west. (§) It is worthy of special note that great fame came to be attached to this part of the Indus Valley in Buddhist tradition. This is amply attested by the records of the Chinese pilgrims who eagerly visited its numerous sacred sites, as well as by numerous notices in the literature of Buddhists in India.

(*) The hills here are marked by fortified houses, telling of troublous times when the pre-Muslim Pathan population of the valleys fled to them for safety.

(§) The earliest traces, as at Mansehra in Hazara District, noticed above, are in the fourteen ~~Rock~~ Edicts of Asoka found on a hill near the village of Shahbazgarhi (7½ miles north-east of Mardan). Then there are later Kharoshthī inscriptions of the time of Kushan regime, numerous Yavana, Saka and Kushan coins with legends depicting Indian culture (Dr R.B. Whitehead, Indo-Greek coins, Oxford 1917; Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No 13, New York 1922) and the ancient sites of Aornos, Bazira, etc. discovered during recent times by Sir Aurel Stein. To these instances may be added many Graeco-Buddhist statues of the period of the Gandhāra School, which is splendidly exemplified in

The culture and history of a people are reflected in its language and literature. Language indicates, so to say, like a thermometer or barometer, the rise and fall of civilization, while literature tells its life. Whatever literature is associated with ancient Panjab will be noticed below in its proper place according to periods of its growth. In this Chapter, however, we shall touch on the question of language only, which is very necessary for the purpose of introduction to the present study.

The earliest document that gives us definite information about the kind of language that was spoken in the Panjab belongs to the Aryans, who probably immigrated (*) into that country a little before 2,000 B.C.

It is the well-known Rgveda Saṁhitā, the corpus of hymn-literature, which shows that the early Aryans were well acquainted with most of the Indus Valley in its widest

(continued) the Panjab Museum at Lahore and partly in other Museums of India outside (A.oucher, loc.cit., and Sir John Marshall in Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter XXVI).

(*) Earlier than this there are traces of a language found written in a pictographic script on numerous seals, brought to light by archaeological discoveries made in the Indus Valley. Not until the script on these seals can be read, will it be possible to ascertain what sort of language this was. That it was Aryan or Vedic is quite unlikely, seeing that the Indus Valley remains belong to a period anterior to that of the Aryans (see Chapter II below). Some good authorities have been inclined to the view that the Indus language might have been an ancient form of the Dravidian family, now found in the south of India with outliers in the North and Baluchistan. This view remains very likely, as will be shown presently.

sense from the Kabul (Kubhā) to the Jumna. The language used in the hymns is one which after the settlement of the Aryan immigrants received constant literary culture and refinement at the hands of their rshi composers and other intellectuals in the Sapta Sindhu population. It is a sheer mistake to say, as is done by Sir George Grierson and others, that the language of the Rgvedic hymns represents the "speech of the Middle Country (Madhyadesā) only". (*) What appears to have happened is that in course of time those of the Indus Valley Aryans who went to settle in the Gangetic Doab (the so-called Madhya-desā in a narrower sense) developed gradually, the old literary language of the Sapta Sindhu which was finally fixed at an early date. We have specimens of this modified form in Vedic texts composed long after the hymns of the Rgveda, and forming a separate class, called the later Vedic literature.

(*) "The theory of Hoernle, Grierson, and Risley (Imperial Gaz., Vol I, pp 303 sq), which sees in the Rigvedic language the speech of the Middle Country (Madhyadesā) only, is not supported by the Rigveda. Only the N.W. region of the Middle Country, which lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī (Brahmāvarta) was intimately known to the poets of the Rigveda. They show more acquaintance with the Punjab and with the Kabul Valley than with the Middle Country generally, that is to say the region lying between the Sarasvatī and Prayāga, the modern Allahabad".
(Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p 110 f.n.).

Meanwhile, the spoken speech of the Panjabis was changing more rapidly, and in different parts of the country there were arising distinct dialects, which are grouped under the name of Old Indian Prakrit, i.e., natural or unartificial as opposed to a literary form of speech such as, for example, that represented in the R̥gveda. The hymns of the Veda already show a few easily recognizable traces of dialectic differences, ^(*) which were allowed to remain in the text by the editors because of the special sanctity attached to the hymns. We have unfortunately no regular record of these early or primary dialects spoken by Panjabis except these fragments.

But it will be seen that by the third century B.C. great changes had taken place in the Panjab, as elsewhere in India in the speech of the mass of the people. This naturally made it needful for the Emperor Aśoka to set up the inscriptions containing his Edicts in the forms of speech known to the local and provincial officials of his reign. All his Edicts found in the North-West Frontier Province at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi are recorded in the

(*) E.g. dūdās' < durdās'; dūdabha < durdabha; dūdhī < durdhī; dūnāsa < duh-nāsa; and dūnāsa < duh-nāsa; etc.

(*)

dialects that were spoken in that part of the country.

And properly speaking it is these inscriptions which supply so far the earliest definite specimens of the popular speech of the Panjab.

In this connection, however, the view of Sir George Grierson deserves a mention here. According to him these Panjab dialects of Asoka's time represent the western forms of the earliest Prakrit, known as Pali, (§) which is the literary form of Māgadhi, "the then koine (lingua franca) of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takshasīṭā (Taxila) university." (x) The Buddha, it is said, preached to the people in the janapada of Magadha. As he spoke in the popular language, it is concluded that he spoke Māgadhi. The earliest surviving Pali texts purport to convey the teaching of the Buddha, hence it is thought Pali must be a form of Māgadhi. But this view of Sir George has not (o) won general acceptance among scholars. Some of their

(*) For the forms of these dialects consult Hultzsch, C.I.I., Vol. I, Asokan Inscriptions, 1925, Introduction, and Prof. A.C. Woolner, Asoka Text and Glossary, 1924, Part I (Introduction).

(§) The name Pali was originally applied to the corpus of original and authoritative texts of Buddhism as distinguished from the commentaries (Attakathas). It came to be known as a language somewhere about the time of Buddhaghosa who is the most famous Pali commentator (4-5th. Cent.A.D.).

(x) Sir George Grierson in Commemorative Essays, presented to Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1917, pp 117 ff.

(o) B.C. Law, Buddhist Studies, Calcutta 1931, pp 228-29, 232-35, and 728-48.

objections are: the fact that the oldest Buddhist texts preserved in manuscripts of Ceylon are in Pali does not prove that the Buddha spoke that language; there is nothing to show exactly what particular dialect the Buddha used; and Māgadhi, an eastern dialect, can hardly be supposed to have been the common language of India.

So it will be seen that Pali could not possibly be the language of the Buddha, nor could it be Māgadhi and nor even the lingua franca. All that can be said about it is that the early Pali Buddhist texts represent the doctrines accepted by a special school which used Pali as the literary language of their canon. When and where this took place cannot be determined with any certainty. Sir George Grierson would of course make Takshasīlā the home of Pali, while it is held by Otto Franke^(*) that Pali was the language of an Aryan people travelling from the Panjab along the Indus southwards. In his opinion there were two branches of the Panjab's Aryans; one travelled southwards and the other eastwards. Pali must have started in the Panjab because in certain features it resembles the language of the Rgveda, which is associated with that country. We may or may not accept the theories of Sir George Grierson or Otto Franke, but the fact remains that some of the older

(*) Z D.M.G. Vol XLVI, 1892, pp 316-17.

elements in Pali did come from early dialects of the
 (*)
 Panjab.

But it must be noted that these few elements of Panjabi character traceable in Pali cannot help us in forming an idea of the kind of dialects spoken in the Panjab. Thus beyond Asoka's inscriptions found at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi there is no certain information as to what was the living speech between the end of the Rgvedic ages and the third century B.C. After the time of Asoka we have a number of Prakrit words from the Kharoshthi legends of the bilingual coins on which the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) recorded proper names heard by them during their rule of the Panjab, but no idea of the contemporary spoken dialects can be had from them. Next there are the Kharoshthi inscriptions other than those of Asoka, which are all later than his time, and which have been discovered in several places in the north-west of India. One of their chief features of interest is that

(1)

(*) For example, the endings -āse and -āso of early Pali texts correspond to -āsas of the Nominative plural of the Masculine Stem in early Panjabi (Rgvedic). Cf. Agalasseis of Diodorus, which is clearly Greek transcription of the name Aggatāso or Aggatāse, i.e. Aggalas or Aggalas, an ancient people of the Panjab (Cf. Dr. L.D. Barnett, in B.S.O.S., Vol X, Part 2, pp 282-83 with foot notes 1 and 2 on p 283); (2) Early Panjabi (Rgvedic) Instrumental in ā found in Pali: hatthā sahatthā māpita (Jātaka I, 7,3) and ahiṃsā sabhayānam arioti pavuchchhati (Dhammapada, V, 270). More instances can easily be picked up from Rgvedic hymns and passages in Pali texts.

they are written in more or less uniform dialects of north-western Prakrit. All peculiar features of this Prakrit are discussed by Sten Konow at considerable length in his Kharoshthī Inscriptions,^(*) and a study of them will enable us to draw a picture of the Prakrit of post-Mauryan Panjab. This Prakrit, it may be pointed out, was also used for literary purposes, as is shown on very good evidence by the learned editor of these useful inscriptions.^(§) Besides, there is the Prakrit, described by the Grammarian Hemachandra (12th cent.A.D.) under the name Paisāchī. It has been shown to be very newly related to the dialects of the Asōkan inscriptions Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi. Konow says that Paisāchī agrees with Pali in many respects, and its trees have also been found in considerable numbers in the dialects spoken in the western Panjab at the present day.^(x) However, it is to be noted that the name Paisāchī, though literally it means the language of demons, was simply a Prakrit once spoken in the Sapta Sindhu round about Takshasīlā (Taxila), the most ancient and renowned seat of learning in India.^(o) The name Paisāchī was pro-

(*) C.I.I. Vol II, Calcutta 1929, Introduction pp XCV-CXXVII.

(§) Ibid., pp KCV-XCVI.

(x) A.D.M.G. Vol LXIV, 1910, pp 114 ff.

(o) See Sir George Grierson in his Preface to Volume on Dardic in Linguistic Survey of India.

bably applied by orthodox Brahmans in the Middle Country (Madhya-dēśa) to all surrounding dialects falling short of the supposed standard language used by them, and also perhaps owing to these dialects having come to be associated with the heretical Buddhists. At any rate, as sometimes understood, the term Paisāchī Prakrit did not carry any ethnic significance whatever. On the other hand, Paisāchī became at an early date a literary language. A very remarkable work, the Brhatkathā of Guṇādhyā, was written in this Prakrit, probably in the sixth century A.D.

Thus the old Panjab dialects, which were showing an ever increasing divergence between the speech of the learned and that of the people since the period represented by the Rgveda, nay even earlier, continued the course of their development, until in a mature form they reached a stage of Prakrit such as is found, for example, in the Kharoshthī inscriptions. This linguistic stage is given the name Middle Indian or Secondary Prakrit, as opposed to the Old Indian or Primary Prakrit. And finally when these dialects were still further modified and became distinct from those of the Middle stage, they are said to have arrived at the third stage, i.e. Modern or Tertiary. The modern dialects of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province are many, but most of them, genealogically speaking, belong to the Aryan branch of the great Indo-

(*) European family of languages. Acquaintance with them is helpful for understanding the linguistic conditions of the country, so that we shall give below a brief sketch of them all:-

(To be completed later).

(*) So called because the expression denotes all related languages from India to Europe. For a detailed note on this see Chapter III Part (i).

The relation of Sanskrit to the modern dialects of the Panjab is an important point which needs a special notice here. It may be pointed out in the first place that, concurrently with the growth of the popular dialects, the Aryans had a literary form of speech, at first the Vedic Sanskrit, and later the Classical Sanskrit, the name Sanskrit in both being used in contradistinction to the popular speech. The basic dialect for Vedic and Classical Sanskrit was not one and the same. (*) Like Vedic Classical Sanskrit was also derived from one of the Primary Prakrit dialects, which was fixed at an early period in its existing form by the labours of grammarians, which may be said to have culminated in the Ashtādhyāyī of the famous Pāṇini. (§) To avoid confusion we shall here use the familiar name Sanskrit for both the early and the later phases of the literary language.

It may be noted that Sanskrit has borrowed freely from the dialects and the dialects in turn have borrowed freely from Sanskrit. In the latter case, as at the present day, the more highly educated Prakrit-speaking

(*) According to the religious tradition, the language of the Rgveda and other Vedas gradually changed through the stages represented by the later Vedic texts known as the Brāhmanas and Upanishads to the perfected form of Classical Sanskrit. In other words, Classical Sanskrit is supposed to be a continuation of Vedic Sanskrit in a direct line. Philologically this is not the correct view, because the grammatical forms of Classical Sanskrit are based on a dialect which is like Vedic but not the same.

(§) Known to have been a native of Salatur in Gandhāra. He is generally placed in the fifth century B.C.

people freely interlarded their conversation with Sanskrit words and expressions. This is not all. Sanskrit also exercised constant influence on popular speech, apart from the via media of intelligentsia in the population. It has been throughout early times the language of religion and culture in India, and as such, especially in later Vedic times, its influence was very considerable on popular speech through Brahman priests, particularly in Madhya-deśa. As a result of this overwhelming influence Sanskrit words once borrowed suffered a fate similar to that of the ancient Primary Prakrit words which came down in the speech by direct descent. As time passed on these literary words became so much distorted in the mouths of speakers that finally they too became Prakrit in form though not by right of origin. The modern dialects of the Panjab contain large numbers of such words, and if one could spend time and labour in making a special study of them, one could easily write a very interesting monograph on the history of Sanskrit influence and ancient Panjabi psychology.

From the above, however, it must not be understood in any way that Sanskrit was the monopoly of Brahmans alone and that it fell into disuse in the Panjab owing to the foreign invasions and the spread of Buddhism in the north west of India. On the contrary, under the later Śakas,

known in Indian history as the Kushans, who had become Buddhists, Sanskrit became the language of their Empire and the medium of international communication. As will be seen, in the Saka Empire of the Kushan dynasty Sanskrit gradually replaced Pali, and Buddhism, the religion favoured by the Sakas, spread into Central Asia and China, largely through the medium of Sanskrit current in the janapada of Gandhāra with a premier University at its capital city, Takshasīlā, the Oxford of ancient India.

So it will appear that Panjabis never discarded the use of Sanskrit. It always continued to be popular among the educated classes and was employed as the medium of instruction. But so far as the generality of people is concerned, the influence of Sanskrit, as stated above, has been mainly a matter of vocabulary and morphology of their speech. As the source or vehicle of higher culture and religion, Sanskrit at all periods furnished the old and new dialects of Aryan as well as non-Aryan languages with names of new objects and new conceptions. This universal influence may almost be regarded as a basis for the unification of languages in India. (*) In any case it

(*) It was due to this fact that if Sanskrit was not spoken in daily life, it was understood by most. This is evident from Sanskrit Plays, in which characters not speaking Sanskrit answer, in their respective popular dialects, questions asked in Sanskrit.

is a mistake to say that Modern Indo-Aryan Languages are derived from Sanskrit or the language of the Vedas. Sanskrit is certainly the oldest of these languages, but it is not the parent of them, much less of the related languages outside in Asia, as well as in Europe, e.g. Persian, Greek, Latin, German, English, etc.

Apart from Sanskrit, it has been observed that non-Aryan speech affected by its contact the language of all classes in Aryan society. "The existence of slaves, male and especially female, must have tended constantly to affect the Aryan speech and the effect must have been very considerable". To these influences may be added that of merchants, traders and free craftsmen. There is no denying the fact that the modern Aryan dialects in India have borrowed largely from the languages with which they have come into contact. A similar process must have been at work in the Aryan dialects at the primary and middle stages of their development. We also find that owing to contact with native peoples, in every other old or later Indo-European language and its dialects the vocabulary has been in some degree changed by foreign loan words and sometimes also the phonetic and syntactic structure has been altered. Thus there is no reason to doubt the existence of borrowed material in the vocabulary and structure of old Indo-Aryan speech, now represented by different strata of Sanskrit and various Prakrits. Philologists have

already discovered in these a considerable number of words and other elements which have neither Aryan nor Indo-European cognates. Most of these loan words are relegated to the unādi Sūtras by Sanskrit grammarians, which shows that their origin was not to be explained by the regular laws of Indo-Aryan grammar. (*) Hence, if these traceable words and elements are not Aryan, the question naturally arises what can be their source?

It is a matter for regret that hitherto investigation of the languages of India has been confined mainly to Aryan speech. Yet some researches on the non-Aryan side have established the existence of two non-Aryan families of languages once widely spoken in ancient India - Austro (Munda) (§) and Dravidian; other non-Aryan languages discovered in India, such as Mon-Khmer, Siamese-Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, Tibeto-Himalayan, etc. are confined to very limited areas, generally outside the Panjab, and were probably importations in comparatively recent times, but obviously long before the influence of Arabic and Persian in India had begun.

(*) Derivations, it may be noted, in many cases are not satisfactory.

(§) Munda is said to be the surviving representative of the Austro-Asiatic family of speech spoken over a vast area which, according to the conjecture of some writers, was once a continent. This family has been traced "from Easter Island off the coast of South America in the east to Madagascar in the west, and from New Zealand in the south to the Punjab in the North."

From the way in which Munda dialects are scattered, that is to say, from the geographical position of Munda-speaking and the primitive Aryan-speaking tribes in India, (*) it is surmised that the latter once spoke Munda; that the Munda dialects once upon a time were spread generally in India, perhaps as its oldest speech; and that these dialects were superseded by the waves of Dravidian and Aryan languages successively. (§) In each case, however, the dialects of Munda speech are said to have left their mark. (x) For example, according to Sir George Grierson, "Kuri, the word used all over northern India (Punjab included) for a score is almost certainly a word of Munda origin". This explains the survival of the Munda method of vigesimal enumeration (o) among the rural population of the Panjab and elsewhere in the north of India. Prof J. Przyluski is another scholar who has made out a case for another scholar who has made out a case for the Austric (Munda) origin of two or three words from the Panjab, e.g.,

(*) The Munda dialects are found far and wide throughout India. In the south and to a certain extent in Chhota Nagpur (C.P.), Munda has been covered by Dravidian forms of speech, and in the north by Aryan or Tibeto-Burman tongues. In northern India it is in the Himalayan region, where at the present day the great mass of Aryan people speak various forms of Tibeto-Burman tongues, that Munda survivals are most apparent. In the Panjab Kanavari or Kanauri, spoken in Simla Hills, and Kanashi, spoken in Kulu, are similar to the authentic Munda, though there are doubtful cases further west of these hills (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol I, p.35.

(§) Cf. Rapson in Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter II, p.41.

(x) Linguistic Survey of India, Vol I, p.35

(o) i.e. a system according to which counting is done by

Kodumbara = Udumbara, with peculiar Munda prefix k - ;
 (*)
 Tulumbra - Tulamba - Talamba; Kapāh = Karpāsa. But it must be remembered that the evidence of a few words, more especially when Munda philology does not possess a strict etymological method, hardly enables us to ascertain the extent of Munda influence. At any rate, the presence of a Munda substratum in the Aryan dialect of the Panjab, we may say, is not well established by philologists and should be considered as still debatable.

On the other hand, we may accept the view that the Aryan speech, before it occupied the Panjab four thousand years ago, found Dravidian dialects of an ancient form in possession of the country. In that case it would necessarily mean there was Dravidian influence on the Aryan language of the Panjab. The points to maintain this view are as follows:-

(1) Isolated words apparently of Dravidian origin. Old and Middle Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit and Prakrit), as well as Modern Languages, dialects of the Panjab included, contain a considerable number of words, of which Dravidian origin can be postulated with great plausibility; they have no obvious Indo-European relation. (S)
 (add next page)

(o) From previous page) i.e., a system according to which counting is done by twenties and not by tens. Thus fifty would be expressed 'two score and ten'.

(*) J.A. Vol CCVIII, 1926, No 1, pp 38 and 42 - Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Udumbara.

(§) 57.
relation. Such borrowings however are not conclusive, for single words may travel far, passing through the mouths of different races, and their presence certainly does not prove direct and close contact between Aryans and Dravidians. The same may be said of the apparent loans from Munda in Aryan speech: some of these travelled even to the Greek and Roman world, yet their presence in Greek and Latin does not prove that the Greeks and Romans were ever in direct touch with Munda peoples. However, a careful and full analysis of the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan speech has yet to be made; and perhaps it may reveal a considerable number of Dravidian words denoting familiar ideas of a kind that might indicate direct contact. This is a task for future philologists.

More significant are the following three points:-

(2) Use of the Gerund (Absolute). The Sanskrit Gerund, originally an oblique case of a verbal noun, is used with increasing frequency from Vedic times onwards as sub-predicate, much like the participles of Greek and Latin. But there is no exactly corresponding form in Greek and Latin or any other Indo-European speech, whereas

(§) A list of some of these will be found in Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume, Part I, edited by Samaddar, Patna (1926-28), pp 66-68; Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1935, pp 177-89, and New Ind. Ant., October 1939, pp 421-27.

(*)

there is a close parallel to it in Dravidian.

(3) Aryan causal stems in -p-. These begin to appear already in R̥gveda (where we find eight examples of sthāpaya - and the corresponding causal aorist tishthipa - from sthā -), and in post Vedic they become increasingly common. There seems to be no Indo-European parallel; the most obvious explanation is from Dravidian, where -p-, with derivative -b- and -v-, regularly forms causative stems. (§)

(4) Evidence of Brahui. This language is spoken in the hills of Baluchistan. It is a Dravidian language, greatly mixed with Baluchi. (x) The presence in territories to the west of the Indus of an isolated Dravidian dialect is indeed of unique interest. Brahui, it is now believed, is a survival from a very early period, of Dravidian speech which once occupied the whole region that separates today Brahui from the mass of Dravidian tongues. Presumably Dravidian must have been spoken in the Indus Valley, and the early Aryans after its occupation borrowed some

(*) Thus Skt. tam dr̥śtvā 'gamam = Tamil avanai kaṇḍu pōṇēn, 'seeing him I went'. Such forms are extremely common and regular in Dravidian. There they serve also as bases to which are added personal endings, so as to form finite verbs, e.g. from kaṇḍu 'seeing' - ēn is formed kaṇḍēn 'I saw'; but in Old Dravidian, notably in classical Tamil poetry, these bases are often used without personal endings with the sense of finite verbs. Perhaps we may see a trace of this Dravidian usage in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, IV, 2.1.) ātithyena vai devā ishtvā tānt samaḍ avindat, 'the gods held sacrifice.... strife came upon them', where ishtvā certainly serves as a finite verb and predicate to devāḥ, utterly against Aryan idiom.

(§) See Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian

(continued)

elements in their speech from the pre-existing inhabitants with whom they came into contact in the Valley.

Long after the Aryan settlement, it will be seen, the Panjab became the victim of successive invasions and alien rule lasting for several centuries. First came the Persians, then the Yavanas (Greeks) followed by the Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushans and Hunas. There is evidence to show that their respective languages were used in the country, but it was mainly at the royal courts that they were favoured. As they were always employed only for administrative purposes and confined to the officers, the age-long old Aryan language of Panjabi subjects under these alien rulers could be affected only slightly by them. Nor could even the Afghans and Mughals change its form or abolish it in their continuous reign over the country for seven hundred years. It is to be noted that the language of administration throughout this long period was Persian, which doubtless was more or less known to many of the traders in the bazaars of Panjab cities. But in homes and fields the householders and peasants continued speaking Indo-Aryan Panjabi or its sister dialects, viz.

(§) (continued) Language, third edition, pp 455 ff.

(x) Linguistic Survey of India, Vol I, p 93. Cf. Census Report, 1931, Vol I, Part I.

Lahnda, Dogri, Pashto, etc. The cause of this is not far to seek. Before the country became a Muslim Province, the old Aryan dialects were too well established there to be modified in any appreciable degree, much less to be replaced, by the language of the conquerors. Thus it has been rightly observed, "The most important and lasting gift of the Aryans to India was probably their language, a vehicle of communication and expression belonging to a family of languages ^(*) which has proved its superiority in all parts of the world by superseding any other languages with which any of its members have come into effective competition."

The Panjab has thus been largely Aryan in speech from very ancient times. That its population, excluding some minor additions in later historical and more recent times, also was and is still Aryan by race in its higher and many lower strata, no one can deny. This fact is not only based on linguistic and literary evidence, but has found confirmation in the analysis of ethnologists, who classify men according to the shape of their heads, the ^(section) kind of their hair, the shape of their noses and secondarily by stature, complexion and other characteristics. By this

(*) i.e. Indo-European.

method a number of marked types are distinguished in India, (*) which shade off into each other on the edges.

(§)

Sir Herbert Risley, who was the first scholar to make a systematic study of the peoples of India from a scientific standpoint, came to the conclusion, after a critical examination of physical characteristics of the various ethnic groups, that it is in the Panjab and Rajputana alone that the population is very homogeneous and Aryan almost from the highest to the lowest strata. The Aryan element, according to him, becomes continually weaker as we go east and south. The fact is that, whatever the ~~native~~ native peoples in India may have been, the Aryan conquerors at the time of their invasions "encountered the natural obstacles which divide the country into dissimilar regions and also the hostility of the relatively indigenous peoples. Assimilation was therefore very unequal, according to the region and according to the period. Thus, the invaders having come in by the north-west, the panjab has been Indo-European" for about 4,000 years, and is thus more Aryan than any other part of India. It is

(*) These types are: (1) Dravidian (2) Indo-Aryan (Indo-Afghan of some scholars) (3) Turko-Iranian (4) Scytho-Dravidian (5) Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani (6) Mongloid and (7) Mongolo-Dravidian.

(§) Risley, The People of India, second edition by W. Crooke, 1915, pp 33 ff, especially pp 49-50.

worthy of note that so strong has been the Aryan element in the Panjab that the Persians, Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas, etc. who almost successively ruled over it for several centuries could not make any perceptible impression upon its population.

The population of the Panjab being thus unmistakably and predominantly Aryan, it is strange to observe that some scholars, regardless of the actual ethnic conditions in the country, have described, on weak grounds, many ancient and prominent tribes, as well as their ruling dynasties, as foreigners who immigrated during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The tribes in question are: Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Bāhlikas, Madras, Ārattas, Jartas or Jārttikas, Trigartas, etc. But there is not a scrap of historical evidence even to suggest, much less to prove, immigrations of these tribes from outside. On the other hand, a careful and impartial study of them shows that they all had purely Indian traditions, and could not but be the descendants of early Aryans of the Sapta Sindhu. Many of the royal houses of these tribes, notably the Bāhlika-Madras, ^(*) as is

(*) The name 'Bāhlikas' or 'Bālīkas', which also stands in the Mahābhārata for the Madras, Ārattas, Jartas, etc., has been generally taken as indicating Iranian outsiders from Balkh (Baktris, Bactria, etc.). This conclusion is based on the similarity of the words Bāhlika and Balkh, but is philologically untenable. Bāhlika (Bālīka is another variant) occurs as the name of a tribe as early as the

natural, were always recognised as equal in social status to the Pauravas (Pūru-Kurus) and other Aryan peoples in the Gangetic Valley. This is why the alliances between the Panjab and Madhya-deśa dynasts were regarded as quite proper in epic traditions preserved in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. It is really unfortunate that much misconception exists regarding Bāhlikas, Madras, Arattas, etc. in respect of their social and religious condition. Scholars have often taken advantage of some detached passages of a very curious nature from literature and come to hasty conclusions. For example, Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda, (§) quoting the Mahābhārata. (x) Baudhāyana (o) and the

(continued) time of the Atharvaveda (circa 1,000 B.C.), whereas there is no evidence of 'lh' or 'hl' sounds appearing in old Iranian Baktiris earlier than the second century B.C. This evidently shows that Bāhlika is independent of Bakh and is an old Indian name, having no relation whatever with the latter. For this point I am indebted to Prof. H.W. Bailey of Queen's College, Cambridge University, who has very kindly examined all old forms of the words in question in Indian and Iranian with which he is perfectly familiar. Besides, Prof. J. Przykusi who has studied certain facts about the ancient peoples of the Panjab. (J.A., CCVIII, 1926, No 1, pp 10-12.) has explained the word Bāhlika as Indo-Aryan and derived it from Bhallika (Bhadrika), which is an additional reason for regarding the Bāhlikas as a genuine Indian tribe and not outsiders from Bactria or Bakh.

(§) A.S.I., Memoir No 31 (1926), pp 7-8.

(x) Bk VIII (Karnaparva) Chapters XLIV, 40-46.

(o) Śrauta Sūtra, XVIII, 13; Dharma Sūtra, I, 1, 32-33.

(*) Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, has stated that the Panjab was a country where lived people like Bāhlikas, etc., who were outsiders and had a bad character. In studying the passages in question (We shall examine and discuss them in detail in Chapter VII), the prejudiced scholars forget they are mostly interpolations inserted at a period when in Madhya-dēśa, the cradle of the revised Mahābhārata and most of the Sūtra literature, (§) very great deference was paid to Brahmans, who had gradually developed new religion and social institutions and claimed the right to guide people in all matters, while the Panjab on the whole was not so orthodox. (x) Partly from religious bias and partly

(*) VIII, 14, 3.

(§) As regards the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted, it may be pointed out that Rai Bahadur's interpretation of the words nichyas and apāchyas as meaning low-born and ill mannered respectively is altogether false (See below pp 275-76) and *see note*

(x) This distinction in society is sometimes made an argument to support the theory of double Aryan invasion of India (Sir Herbert Risley, loc.cit. pp 55-56), according to which there were two distinct Aryan migrations of different physical character - the long-headed and broad-headed Aryans. We have no evidence of the long heads and broad heads entering India at two different epochs. The simple explanation, as evident from literature, is that there was colonization of the Madhya-dēśa by the adventurous Aryans from the Panjab in smaller numbers who got mixed up with the population there, evolved new Vedism and developed a language with slight differences, which was quite natural. This explanation, as will be seen, does not imply break in ethnological conditions of the Indus and Gangetic Valleys, so far as the Aryans are concerned. It is possible that the long and broad cephalic types co-existed among the Sapta Sindhu Aryans and that those who migrated to the east were probably more of the broad-headed type.

owing to misunderstanding of their cultural conditions, the Panjabis were dubbed by Brahmans and their followers irreligious, impure and dissolute people, although they were Aryan par excellence.

But we do not know when or from what sources the Panjab was first populated, and what were the people contemporary with the remains dug out at various sites in the north-west of India, which have now proved the existence in the Indus Valley of a civilization, certainly earlier than the Aryan invasion. There is enough evidence to show that the Indus people were known to the early Aryans towards the close of the third millennium B.C. (*) when the latter invaded the Panjab. It is a matter for regret that none of the numerous objects discovered at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and other Indus sites throw any light on the ethnic character of the people encountered by the Aryans. Lately some preliminary studies, on the basis of the very few human skulls recovered in the Indus Valley, have been made by B.S. Guha, (§) but so far they have not enabled us to form any definite opinion as to physical character and the race of the Indus people.

(*) See Chapter II, pp

(§) Census of India, 1931, Vol I, Part III (1935). Also read An Outline of the Field Science of India, edited by S.L. Hora, 1937, p 127.

However, in view of the evidence available from the oldest literary document of their Aryan successors - the Rgveda - (*) it is generally accepted that they were possibly Dravidians. In three passages (Bk I, 104,2; Bk III, 34,9; Bk X, 49,3) the Aryan verna 'colour' is opposed to the Dasyas (non-Aryan) colour, while Dasyu is qualified in two others (Bk X, 41,1; 73,5) as Krshna 'dark' or asikni tvach 'dark-skinned'. This proves that the Rgvedic Aryans knew a swarthy population, which might have been the Dravidian found in India today.

Nevertheless, against this view may be adduced the argument that according to ethnologists population of the Panjab is predominantly 'Aryan' in physical type, i.e. white; the dark element, which is found in its east and which predominates in the Deccan and south India, is not met with here. But this proves little for early times. In all likelihood the Aryans on coming into the Panjab destroyed or drove away the larger part of the former inhabitants, and then after their settlement gradually entered into cultural relations with the depressed remainder, borrowing from them some religious worships and social practices. The two races - an Aryan majority and a native minority - gradually fused together, and in the fusion the Aryan physical type has become dominant. This physical predominance of the Aryans and the absence of Munda or

(*) Other elements also may have been there which perhaps had mixed up, as is shown by some Indian skulls.

Kolarian (Austro-Indian) types in the Panjab seems to suggest that if there ever was a Munda population in the Panjab it had practically disappeared before the arrival of the Aryans, for otherwise it would have left some traces in the features and bodily structure of the people. Certain modern scholars, e.g. Prof. J. Przyluski notably in his essay Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Udumbara,^(*) have made much of the supposed substratum in the Panjab and elsewhere, paying insufficient regard to ethnological fact and laying great stress on philological arguments from names of places and things. Some of the latter are doubtful; but even those that are sound only go to show that once upon a time there were Mundas in the Panjab: they fail to show that they were there when the Aryans came, for names of places and things pass down from race to race.^(§) A favourite argument of the supporters of the Munda theory is the fact that the Rgveda (Bk V, 29,10) describes Dasyus (not all Dasyus, be it observed, but apparently only certain Dasyus) as anāsas 'noseless'. But this is quite inconclusive. Obviously the word is not to be taken literally, for even the negroid Mundas have noses: it refers derisively to the Dasyus' short

(*) J.A., CCVIII, 1926, no.1, pp 16 ff.

(§) Some British place-names are probably of pre-Celtic origin.

stumpy noses compared to the long and prominent noses typical of Aryans. But the Mundas are not the only stock who have such nasal organs: the type designated as "Scytho-Dravidian" is marked by a short stumpy nose also.

It is therefore likely that a people of the so-called (*) "Scytho-Dravidian" race lived in the Panjab when the Aryans arrived, and possibly were in possession of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, with all that this implies. Unfortunately we know very little about what is and what is not "Dravidian", for the Dravidian languages are spoken by races of widely divergent types. But we find (a) traces of a Dravidian language in the Brahui of Baluchistan and (b) perhaps some words of seemingly Dravidian origin scattered through the Modern Aryan Languages of the northern India, including the Indus Valley, with some traceable Dravidian idioms adopted in Old Indian; while (c) the Dravidians of the South have preserved a tradition of an independent ancient culture of their own in a

(*) Found in western India from Sind down to the Maratha country. The name was first proposed by Sir Herbert Risley, but he has generally been criticised for naming this ethnic type as such. There is no evidence to show that a large part of the present population, as he would have it, is derived from the Sakas, whom he called Scythians and a branch of Mongolians. The origin of this people, it is pointed out (Prof. Rapson, loc.cit. Chapter II, pp 44-45; also Census Report 1931, Vol. I, Part I, 1935, Chapter XII) must be traced to a race of a period far more remote.

literature which in the middle of the first millennium A.D. was already highly polished and looked back over a past extending over many centuries. Among the traits of this Dravidian culture are the worship of a Mother Goddess and a god who was readily identified later with the Rudra-Siva imported from the North, together with a social system in which inheritance passed through the female line and group-marriage prevailed; we find these features in post-Vedic and modern times in the Panjab, despite Brahmanic efforts to suppress them.

Therefore, owing to the presence of the Indus religion among Dravidians and of Dravidian Brahui in the North, with some indications of Dravidian influence on Aryan speech which suggest the existence of a Dravidian substratum in at least some of the areas occupied by the Aryans, and owing to the fact that we are beginning to see that the Indus culture extended far beyond the Indus Valley, we may be pardoned for suspecting that the folk of the Indus Valley culture with whom the Aryans came in contact on their first arrival into the Panjab, were, at least for the most part, of "Dravidian" stock.

Chapter II.

The Dawn of Panjab History.

The first period in the earliest history of the Panjab, as will be seen, is prehistoric. Its source is not to be found, as in the case of succeeding periods, in literature of the country or any literary records of foreign writers, but in archaeology, which has, of late, supplied us unexpectedly with a fair amount of material from the sites in the north-west of India and brought to light valuable information, though it is still not possible to know from it the name of a single person or place. Very little was found possible of achievement in this direction, as the whole Indus Plain was formed of vast alluvial deposits, which concealed all prehistoric remains beyond hope of recovery. All thanks to the exertions of the Department of Archaeology in India; there has been, within recent times, a considerable progress in exploration in the north-west of India with remarkable results. These excavations (*)

(*) A full account of them will be found, in addition to the official Annual Reports of the Department of Archaeology in the Government of India, in the following separate publications of the Department:-

- (i) Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization (containing account of excavations carried out between 1922 and 1927), edited by Sir John Marshall, 3 vols, London 1931.
- (ii) The Indus Civilization by Ernest Mackay, London 1935. It gives a brief description of all discoveries from the excavations carried out between 1926 and 1931.
- (iii) Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, edited by Ernest Mackay, 2 vols, London 1939. This contains an account of excavations from 1926 to 1931.

N.B. Other useful publications will be referred to elsewhere below in this chapter.

2.

not only throw valuable light on the prehistoric civilization of the Panjab, but also show how the Hindu culture and religion partly evolved in later times from the old material. Prior to these discoveries our sole authority for the story of Hindu civilization before the third century B.C., which had long remained the upper limit of the historical period of archaeology in India, was the various strata of literature, which mainly referred to the Aryans and their culture. We practically knew nothing of pre-Aryans, and this lack of knowledge, which was very serious, had led to very vague notions about early history. Modern descendants of the Aryans assumed, for want of evidence to the contrary, that the Hindu civilization was entirely founded on Aryan institutions. Archaeologists and historians generally took it for granted that when the Aryans first arrived in the Panjab there were none but wild and uncultivated aborigines in the country during the long ages, while the great civilizations of Egypt, Crete, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia were already well advanced. But, with the recent knowledge derived from these excavations, our whole perspective of Indian history in general, and that of the Panjab in particular, has changed to an extent which now calls for its reconsideration and reconstruction.

There are, however, two outstanding facts known from the discoveries made in north-western India: The first important fact known is that in the third millennium B.C.

there were living in the north-west, as also very likely elsewhere in northern India, people who possessed a relatively mature culture with city life, and a high standard of art and crafts, and had a distinct religion of their own. The Non-Aryans who are frequently referred to in the Rgveda were in all likelihood the descendants of these people. This fact, we shall show, fits in very well with the date of the Rgveda, the upper limit of which appears to go back to about 2,000 B.C., and thus makes the earliest Aryans practically contemporary with the decadent descendants of the prehistoric non-Aryans. Secondly, the excavations have incidentally revealed the intimate commercial connection of north-western India with the ancient cities of the west, especially those of Mesopotamia, thus India is no longer to be regarded, as was supposed before, as one of the younger countries of the world in respect of civilization. On the contrary, it has now become an established fact that nearly 5,000 years ago, it already possessed a considerably developed civilization, not in any way inferior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia, which lies at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian and western Asian cultures. It is on account of these and similar other facts that not only India but the whole educated world outside also has become interested in the prehistoric antiquities of the Panjab and Sind.

Properly speaking, a history of this period is the

archaeological history of north-western India, of which the Panjab is a major portion. This history was shrouded in mystery until recently, when the veil of darkness was first lifted by the discovery of civilization on two ancient sites in that region. One of them was at Harappa, in the Montgomery District of the Panjab. Harappa is now a mere village of no importance, situated a few miles from the Railway Station of the same name on the left bank of the river Ravi. In its neighbourhood on the old bed of the river lie the extensive ruins of the ancient city, also called Harappa, the circuit of which is almost three miles. Some scholars see the ancient form of Harappa in the Rigvedic word Hariyūpiyā, where it is the name of a river, (*) very likely the Hariōn in the North-west Frontier Province. Granting, however, that it represents a place-name, the question arises how it could continue in the mouth of the people in a form with 'p'; it must have deviated, like many of the old names in modern spoken Panjabi, through an intermediate form Harijuva. Neither can any reliance be placed on various vague stories regarding the destruction of Harappa. (§) One of them assigns it to the bad conduct of a Raja of the name of Har Pal or Hara Pala, a name which is obviously invented by story-tellers on being asked by

(*) See below p. 177.

(§) See Archaeological Survey of India, Report for 1872-73, published in 1875, Vol V, p.107; Cf. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, 1871 (Majumdar's edition, Calcutta 1924), p.243.

travellers for explanation. Some say the ruin of the city was by fire and some by earthquake; while others would ascribe it to a sudden invasion. As a matter of fact, we come across similar stories of all the ruined cities and towns of different periods. (*) This, however, would indicate that all these were destroyed simultaneously and from a common catastrophe, which is absurd. Equally unacceptable is the conjecture of General Cunningham, who, on the strength of a tradition ascribed the destruction of Harappa to Muhammad-bin-Qasim in 711 A.D., as well as his fanciful identification of Harappa with Po-fa-ko or Po-fa-to-lo, mentioned by Hsüan Tsang, the Buddhist pilgrim from China. (The fact that no Muslim coins have been discovered on any of the levels excavated at Harappa proves that the site had been deserted long before the Muslim conquest of Sind and south-west Panjab in the eighth century A.D. The City of Po-fa-to-lo cannot be Harappa, as nothing of the kind - mentioned by the pilgrim - Buddhist stupas and monasteries, etc. has been found on the site in question. On the other hand Po-fa-to of Hsüan Tsang may probably be Jammu, as pointed out by V. Smith. (§)

(*) Read H.A. Rose, Land of Five Rivers.

(§) Early History of India, Third edition, Oxford 1914, p.354. It is worthy of note that Harappe is the name of one of the ala or allas, 'sub-castes' belonging to the Aroras of the Panjab (ala No 794, p.53, Tawārikh-i-Arorbans, second edition, Lahore 1925). If this particular ala has any connection with the place-name, that should go to show a comparatively recent antiquity of the name.

Harappa has been known to the archaeological authorities in India since the time when General Cunningham, the pioneer archaeologist in India, (*) published a detailed account of the place and some finds obtained there in his Survey Report for the year 1872-73. Among the objects discovered was a seal which he described as follows: "The seal is a smooth black stone without polish. On it is engraved very deeply a bull, without hump, looking to the east, with two stars under the neck. Above the bull there is an inscription in six characters, which are quite unknown to me. They are certainly not Indian letters, and as the bull which accompanies them is without a hump, I conclude that the seal is foreign to India." (§) The discovery of this remarkable seal and later of a few more, (o) suggested, the existence at this side of Harappa, of a city of very great antiquity and of peculiar and distinct culture, as the legends on the seals were unlike any other form of writing known previously. But the regular excavation on

(*) He at first started his career in India as Engineer, but while in service he devoted his leisure time to the study of Indian monuments, travelling widely in the pursuit of his hobby. At last he lived to see the creation of the Archaeological Survey of India, with himself at its head as the first Director-General. As many as twenty three volumes of reports were published (1871-87) under his guidance, each being the record of a tour of exploration. These volumes are arranged according to locality, giving accounts of towns and exploration in various districts; their General Index was published in 1887 by V.A. Smith. Cunningham's reports still remain the chief sources for historical geography of ancient India.

(§) Archaeological Survey of India, Report for 1872-73, Vol V, p.108. For illustration of the seal see fig.1. of Plate xxxiii.

(o) J.R.A.S. for 1912, pp.699-700, contains a short note by J.F.Fleet on these seals. See also An.Rep. A.S.I for 1921.

this site was always neglected, and whenever the work was taken up casually, it was carried out on a very limited scale. The importance of Harappa was, however, realized after excavations had been made in 1922-23 at Mohenjo-Daro (*) in the Larkans District of the Province of Sind. The site of Moh^{en}jo-Daro is smaller than that of Harappa, but it happens to be the better preserved, and has therefore yielded more archaeological material. The most surprising and interesting thing about the remains unearthed at these two sites of the Indus valley is that, except for some finds of obviously later periods, they are of exactly the same types. For example, the pictographic script on objects of either city is the same, and the design as well as technique of arts crafts, "also the town planning and architecture of the two cities, are so similar that often the remains of one can pass easily for those of the other." It is owing to the identity of their antiquities that the culture of Harappa and that of Mohenjo-Daro have been given one name - the Indus Civilization. But what we call the Indus Civiliza-

(*) Mohenjo-Daro, 'the mound of the dead', is the present name of a ruined city, which once was situated in a fertile part of the lower Indus valley. Like Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro too has been known to the Archaeological Department for many years, but until the year 1922 there was no suspicion that the remains which lay buried here belonged to the age of those found at Harappa. The credit of showing Mohenjo-Daro as a prehistoric site goes to Mr. R.D. Banerjee, who first came upon it in 1922 when excavating, at the instance of Sir John Marshall, a Buddhist stupa and a monastery, now judged it to belong to a date somewhere between 150 and 300 A.D.

tion is only a convenient term, just as the name Persian Civilization denoted a wide area far beyond the limits of ancient Persia or Fars.

The Indus civilization, like the Persian, developed and spread in a very large area. Its remains have been found not only in the whole north-west of India, but also in the west and as far as the Deccan, as shown by the excavations at Rangpur in Limbdi state (Kathiawar),^(*) and at Paithan on the Godavari. There is thus no need to doubt that this civilization had spread beyond the Indus valley. It is quite possible that the valley of the Ganges too had a similar culture, though no remains have so far been discovered. That this contiguous valley must have formed part of the extensive Indus Valley civilization is natural; it is really a continuation of the Indus region and not in any way isolated. Moreover, the connection between the two valleys in India appears certain when it is remembered that there existed commercial intercourse of the Indus Valley with the outside world in the Near and Middle East. Sir John Marshall is indeed convinced that the Indus Valley civilization spread on the east of the Panjab.^(§)

(*) An. Rep. A. S. I., 1934-35, p.34. The finds discovered from several strata dug out comprise many objects distinctive of the Indus Valley. Cf. R. Bruce Foote, Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, pp.146-53.

(§) Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol I, pp.95-96.

The Indus Valley in its widest sense is the region watered by the Indus and all its tributaries east and west, that is to say, the country now divided between the three Provinces, namely, the Panjab, North-West Frontier and Sind. As already said, the site of Mohenjo-Daro has yielded a larger number of antiquities than Harappa; Sind has therefore received greater attention than the Panjab from the authorities of the Archaeological Department. The work of exploration done in Sind since 1922-23 has revealed, besides the first familiar site of Mohenjo-Daro, a number of sites in that Province, which are believed to be associated with the Indus culture. They are: Tharro (Gujo), Budh-Ke-Takar, Karri, Johumjo-Daro, Bādah, Jhukar, a big group of mounds at Aror near Rohri, Limoju-nejo, Vijnot and Chanhudaro. However, of all the sites in Sind, only Mohenjo-Daro, Jhukar and Chanhudaro (*) have so far been excavated.

As regards the Panjab, including the North-West Frontier Province, it is very disappointing to find that no systematic exploration has yet been made. Nevertheless, an official survey, though limited, has revealed the fact that a number of ancient sites are scattered all over the country. Some of them along some fifty miles of the old bed of the Ravi on which the famous site of Harappa stands appear to be contempor-

(*) See A.S.I., Memoir No 48 (1934) on Explorations in Sind, by M. N. Majumdar.

ary with Harappa itself, but they still await excavation. One site was explored in the District of Montgomery in 1933, some thirteen miles south-east of Harappa. It lies on the old bed of the river Beas near Chak Pūrbān Siyāl. From the examination of remains at the mound there, the site can definitely be taken to be as old as that of Harappa, though it does not appear to have been very extensive. (*) Another ancient site excavated a little earlier than the one just mentioned is in the District of Ambala at Kotla Nihang near Rupar on the river Satluj. It has yielded antiquities, which include several that are identical in shape, design, etc. with those from Harappa. (§) In the Frontier Border a few mounds in Waziristan and the adjoining territory now in British Baluchistan on and near the valley of the river Zhōb, a tributary of the Indus valley river Gumal, have also been excavated. The notable sites in that region are: Surkh-dheri near Dārband, Chaudhwan, Chicha-dhesi, Pēniāno-Ghundai, minor sites in the middle Zhōb area and in the valley of Joralai, Dahar-Kot being the most important there, as also the site of Spina-Ghundai in Pishin basin. (o)

(*) An.Rep., A.S.I. for 1930-34, p.106.

(§) Ibid for 1929-30, p.131.

(o) See Chapters I, II and III of A.S.I., Memoir No 37 (1929) on Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, by Sir Aurel Stein. Baluchistan, which on the whole was comparatively a poor country, according to Sir John Marshall, had to depend for its culture on the adjoining prosperous countries - Sind and the Panjab on the one side, Sistan and Persia on the other, with

Some of the finds obtained from these sites have shown that the Indus Civilization was not limited to the east of the Indus alone, and that it had as well extended on the west of that river. It is certain that if a thorough survey is made in the whole Indus valley, including the Frontier Tract, especially on the old dry beds of its rivers, many other sites, possibly including some extensive ones, of the age of Harappa culture, will be discovered, and more evidence will come to light from the Panjab on the Indus civilization than is available at present. (§)

Of all the prehistoric sites mentioned above, those of Harappa in the Panjab and Mohenjo-Daro in Sind are the most important in view of the quality and quantity of monuments and antiquities discovered there. Hence it is mainly on the material obtained from these two sites that our knowledge of prehistoric Panjab will be based. At both Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, old cities with their walls and suburbs are buried beneath the level of the surrounding alluvial plains. Above these plains, the mounds, which rise to a height of some 20 to 70 feet (Harappa mounds are higher) were formed by the erection and sub-

Note continued) Mesopotamia in the background further west. Cf. A.S.I. Memoir No 35 (1929) on Excavations in Baluchistan, by H. Hargreaves, and also A.S.I. Memoir No 43 (1931) on Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia, by Sir Aurel Stein.

(§) The present writer had the opportunity to visit a number of mounds in the country, locally known as thehs, in 1921 on tours in connection with Panjabi Dictionary work in the University of the Panjab and later on several other occasions during his college vacations. The height and dimensions
continued

sequent decay of successive cities, superimposed one upon the other, each city being built on the remains of its predecessor, and as it in turn fell into ruin, adding to the height of the accumulated debris. In India when buildings decay, people do not trouble to remove the ruins; they are levelled and another structure is built above them. If the old walls remain, they may be incorporated into the new building. This method was followed in the distant past, for the excavations of these sites show that several cities were built on the same site, the uppermost level belonging to comparatively recent times. Thus a rich harvest of historical material lies hidden in the mounds of ancient cities. But unfortunately the mounds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro that have survived have become much diminished in size owing to causes such as the incessant floods, aridity of climate and erosion of their sides; both the cities must once have extended well beyond their existing visible limits. The site of Harappa, however, it may be pointed out, has suffered greatly, its ruins having been used as a quarry for generations past in the neighbouring towns and villages. Moreover, the ruins were extensive enough to furnish brick ballast for about one hundred miles of the railway track. In this manner several of the large mounds and ancient structures suffered much damage at Harappa from time to time, with

Note continued) sions of some of these mounds clearly show that in remote past great cities and towns flourished in this historic land of rivers.

the result that they are now entirely cleared away. In spite of this, it will be seen that Harappa has yielded unique monuments and antiquities and considerably contributed to our knowledge of the Indus Valley civilization.

The numerous objects that have been found in the course of excavations at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and other sites of Indus Valley are of varied nature. (*) They include buildings, dwelling houses or shops, public baths, shrines, halls; domestic articles such as household implements, utensils, pottery vessels of many descriptions and spindle-whorls; metal objects of gold, silver, copper, tin and lead, also of bronze, e.g. ornaments, chisels, knives etc.; precious stones; weapons of war and the chase; statues and numerous figurines in steatite, clay and limestone; and phallic stones. Several other finds like toys, weights, scales, beads, medicines, scraps of cotton, stones of cereals and dates, objects of bones, ivory, shell, faience and vitrified paste, funeral urns, human skulls, bones and horns of animals, have been discovered. Besides, most abundant are the remarkable seals of varied size, shape, and material, engraved with scenes, animals, symbols and pictographs.

Very little is known from these remains about the

(*) See Sir John Marshall, loc.cit. Vol I, Chapters III and IV; Vol II, Chapters xxiv-xxviii. For illustrations consult Vol III. Also see E. Mackay, Further Excavations, two volumes.

Palaeolithic (Rude Stone) and Neolithic (Polished Stone) Ages of north-western India, as no regular stone tools or implements, except simple ribbon flakes^K of flint, chipped objects resembling celts, also of the same material, have come to light at the Indus sites. It is this absence of Neolithic material that has led E. Mackay to say that copper was in use from the time of the foundation of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and that it is unlikely that these cities were founded as early as the Stone Age. Not only this, he also regards the civilisation represented at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa as one that belongs to the copper and bronze Age^(*). On the other hand, Sir John Marshall, who is the highest authority on the subject, considers it as a well-established fact that the ancestors of the Indus Valley people passed through the usual grades of progressive civilization, and that they had certainly passed through two of these periods, the Palaeolithic and Neolithic. As to the people contemporaneous with the Indus Valley remains, Sir John believes that they lived at a time when metal was just beginning to be used instead of stone implements and tools for domestic purposes. He says that the natural advantages of north-western India - alluvial plains, navigable rivers, warm but variable climate, more propitious perhaps than now, and plenty of rainfall - all contributed to the advancement of early society in the Indus region. According to him, the civilization hitherto revealed in the Indus

(*) E. Mackay, Indus Civilisation, pp. 7-8.

Valley is not an incipient civilisation, but one having behind it a long history on the soil of India itself, "with many millennia of human endeavour behind it", which covered many prehistoric stages. However, as regards the stage represented by Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the learned archaeologist, after careful examination of the antiquities brought to light, thinks that their authors were in the transition stage from the Stone Age to the Copper Age. This is best indicated by the fact that both stone and copper implements are traceable from the sites side by side, a feature characteristic of an Age intermediate between Neolithic and Metal, also designated the "Chalcolithic Age."

The Indus Valley people, as known from these archaeological discoveries, were sufficiently advanced to have opened relations with distant countries. Though there is not enough testimony to the view that the Indus people migrated to western Asia and people from the west migrated to the Indus, none at least now deny some kind of contact between these regions in this ancient period. It is also not correct to say now that India was an isolated country and that Indians had nothing whatever to do with their neighbours. As a matter of fact, there has been a constant intercourse between India and the outside world almost for all periods of its history through the gates of the Indus valley. Of this connection during the Chalcolithic period the following definite evidences may be cited: First, the

finds of female statues like the figures of the Indus Valley Goddess in several places in western Asia and the sacred tree of life in Babylonia bear remarkable testimony. (*) Secondly, there is evidence of pottery; Sir John Marshall has pointed out several similarities between the vases of the Indus Valley and those obtained in the Middle and Near East. This connection is traced through Baluchistan and Waziristan by comparing the pottery with that of Elamite, Mesopotamian and Aegean civilizations. Thirdly, commerce of the Indus Valley with the west is attested by the discovery at different sites in Elam and Mesopotamia of some typical Indus objects such as cornelian beads, stone for vases, cotton, figures of apes, etc. (§) Among these importations the most important are fine seals of Indus patterns. (o) At the same time certain objects have recently been obtained from sites in the Indus Valley, which appear to be foreign in origin, mostly Sumerian, they are decorated cornelian beads, a model ram, an axe-adze, small stout pottery rings and a seal (Plate C, figures b and c), all exhibiting non-Indus material and art. (x)

(*) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit. Vol I, Chapter v.

(§) E. Mackay's article on Indian imports - "Sumerian Connections with Ancient Indus" in J.R.A.S. October 1925, pp. 698 ff.

(o) Ibid. Also Sir John Marshall, loc.cit. vol I, chapter viii p. 103. The animals represented on them belong for the most part to the fauna of India; their style is peculiar and the writing on them is in Indus pictographic script, different from the cuneiform.

(x) E. Mackay, Further Excavations, vol II, chapter xix, pp 639-41.

But it would be unwise to conclude too much from these exports and imports, which only afford proofs of commercial intercourse. In no case should they be taken as establishing any ethnic relations between Sumer and India. Nor do they imply that the Indus civilization penetrated into the countries of the Near and Middle East, or that Sumerian and Babylonian civilizations entered the Indus Valley. All that these evidences indicate is that there was commercial relation between the east and west, and that the few cultural similarities that happen to appear can be regarded, in the opinion of Sir John Marshall,^(*) as due to the existence of similar Afrasian civilizations, "as widely diffused as the Chalcolithic, with ramifications extending as far west as Thessaly and Southern Italy, and as far east, perhaps, as the Chinese Provinces of Honan and Chih-li". In these wide civilizations, including that of the Indus valley, which could not possibly be homogeneous throughout, the people who participated in them "were of different races, spoke different languages, wrote different characters, worshipped different deities, and in other ways displayed different orders of mentality." Furthermore, "each in its own way was an important discovery and a valuable contribution to the common stock of human knowledge." And with the progress of excavation work it is becoming

(*) Loc.cit, Vol I, chapter vii, pp. 93-94.

clear that the Chalcolithic civilization of India, remains of which are being dug out in the Indus Valley and elsewhere, was no less indigenous and national than other great River civilizations in the west. (*)

It is regrettable that no separate account of explorations and excavations of the Choleolithic sites in the Panjab proper has so far come out in the form of a memoir or monograph. The only separate memoir on pre-historic Panjab so far published is the one (§) that deals with the animal remains from Harappa, which is not very useful for our purposes. As yet, therefore, we have to look for the accounts of excavations on Harappa and other sites in Panjab Proper in various reports of the Department of Archaeology. (o)

A large number of antiquities and monuments have been recovered from the Panjab, especially at Harappa; they are no less important than those from Sind. A brief account of some outstanding discoveries will be found interesting here. Certain large structures of which no

(*) The inference of a common source of the civilizations of the Indus valley, Mesopotamia and Elam is conjectural and lacks corroboration.

(§) A.S.I., Memoir No 51 (1936) by B. Parshad.

(o) An.Rep. A.S.I. 1926-27, pp 97-108; 1927-28, pp 83-89; 1928-29, pp 76-83; 1929-30, pp 121-131; pp 131-132; 1930-34, pp 72-90; pp 106-107; 1934-35, pp 31-33; 1935-36, pp 35-36.

examples are met with elsewhere in the Indus Valley have been excavated at Harappa. A noticeable feature in one of them is that it "contains in its eastern portion twelve parallel walls, each about fifty-two feet long, arranged in pairs at intervals of some seventeen feet, with roughly five feet distance between each pair. The walls are in two series, a western and eastern, divided by a broad way about twenty-three feet across". This great structure, the significance of which has not yet been made clear, at present extends about one hundred and sixty feet from north to south and hundred and thirty six from east to west and may prove even larger when entirely excavated. Then there are quite unique ten circular structures, constructed of one course of brick-on-edge of four concentric rings of masonry. "It is remarkable that each of them has a hollow at the centre equal to two rings in diameter. On examination, the hollow in one of them was found to contain a small quantity of burnt wheat and other seeds and about a seer of charred animal bones including teeth." Of great interest is the discovery of large wide-mouthed funerary urns of various types, invariably covered with lids. These are found in buildings of all periods at Harappa, generally underneath a floor or street, and contain a number of smaller vases, bones of small quadrupeds, birds and fishes, and a variety of other small objects, sometimes mingled with ashes and

(*) Such as beads, bangles, terracotta figurines, decayed grain, triangular terracotta cakes etc.

charcoal. Another noteworthy object in the remains of Harappa is a model in copper of a two-wheeled cart with a gabled roof and driver seated in front. No less interesting is a toilet set, which consists of a pricker, a narrow knife and a pair of tweezers.

But of all the objects revealed at Harappa (this is also the case with Mohenjo-Daro in Sind), the most valuable are the seals, mainly square and oblong in shape. They are left behind at this site in hundreds, mostly made of steatite (soapstone) in various sizes, and a few of other materials. The majority of them have inscriptions in a pictographic writing which is still very near to hieroglyphic, together with figures of animals and symbols, while others have inscriptions only. Indications like religious scenes portrayed on many of them and a small perforated hole at the back to take a cord show that these seals were mainly used as amulets or talismans; From their great numbers, it would seem that carrying of talisman on their person was a popular practice with people in the Panjab in order to gain religious merit. These seals, as the case may be, were also used as stamp seals, although sealings made from them are not available; the very few found are all of burnt clay. We shall notice here some Harappa seals which make interesting study. Among them is one depicting a procession of seven men wearing kilts and helmets marching in a line from right to left, their leader hold-

ing a dagger in his right hand. On another is a man attacking a tiger from a machan, while a third portrays a man carrying a standard, the ensign on the standard (which was no doubt an object of cult worship) being a wicker manger identical with those from which many of the animals on the seals are feeding. Most striking however is an inscribed sealing, which represents on the right side of its obverse a nude female figure seated upside down with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb and on the left side a pair of standing animal "genii". On the reverse, which repeats the inscription given in the right, the space on the extreme left is occupied by a human male figure, probably with a sickle-shaped knife, facing a seated woman with raised arms and long hair.

Among the more recent antiquities unearthed at Harappa, there is practically nothing of special note; they include remnants of rooms and huge walls, several seals of the usual type, household objects, human figures, copper implements, and a silver piece almost resembling a coin. Excavations at Kotla Nihang in Ambala District have no doubt yielded abundant antiquities of the Chalcolithic Age, but these mainly consist of numerous potsherd, a chert weight, three goblets, vases, a wheel, terracotta cakes etc; seals with Indus pictographic writing have not yet been found. So also at the sister site of Chak Purbane Siyal on the Bias have been found

no seals, but a number of commonplace objects, besides the core of a burnt brick wall, all typical of Harappa culture. The absence of outstanding finds at these two recent sites is due of course to the extremely limited nature of the excavations made on them. More useful, however, next to that in Harappa, has been the result of operations in the Frontier Border, i.e. the extreme west of our historic Panjab, where a number of sites, though very small in area, have yielded objects of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro type, such as cinerary urns, phallic rings and stones, and plenty of art crafts, painted pottery being the most important of them.

The Chalcolithic remains of the Panjab, combined with those of Sind, which are identical, bring back to us the old culture of the remote past in the Indus Valley and reveal much that is of historical importance. It has been observed by scholars of prehistory that in the transition from subsistence to civilization there are three steps of decisive importance: the introduction of agriculture, the discovery of the use of metals and a further advance conditioned by both, the organization of city life. Judged by this standard, we see from the Indus Valley finds that the culture depicted is somewhere near the end of the traditional process. The people inhabiting the Valley built large or small cities at a time when metal was just beginning to be used instead of stone.

An examination of Chalcolithic sites described above reveals to us that their contemporaneous people had come to develop a comfortable style of living in a well-planned city, regularly laid out with streets running north and south, all parallel, and lanes branching off from them at right angles. Some of these streets, for example, at the site of Mohenjo-Daro, have been found to be of considerable size, one of them in places thirty-three feet wide, running for over half a mile. The houses, that were built of well burnt bricks, were divided in blocks, as in a modern city, and were more than one-storeyed, provided with stairways. They were also separated from each other so as to receive full advantage of light and sanitation. It seems the art of building in brick was at its height in the Chalcolithic Age. The bricks were generally thin, biscuit-shaped, kiln-fired and set in mud and lime mortar. Stone was perhaps used for pillar bases in building; and wood, the supply of which was plentiful, was used for floorings and apparently for roofs, as shown by holes in the walls. A special feature of the houses was the provision of bathrooms. These "mostly remain as small well laid brick pavements, bordered with bricks that were set on edge in order to project above the pavement level. Each slopes gently to one corner, where the water ran out to the street drain." Some of the smaller pavements were probably privies. In several cases the chutes from a bathroom and a privy are seen close side by side. But

the special feature which made the Indus cities and towns surpass any other of contemporary date, even in Mesopotamia was their elaborate drainage system. The drains excavated in every street and lane received the outflow from the houses on either side by small side-channels, into which ran the sloping or vertical chutes from the ground floor and from upper floors, roofs, bathrooms and privies, in the thickness of the walls. Each drain was covered over with a corbelled vault of bricks, laid with gypsum cement. In the case of the great tank, only discovered at Mohenjodaro, one notes with surprise the traces of even a damp-proof course of bitumen in the corbel-vaulted roof.

Another important feature distinctive of the Indus civilization was agriculture, for which the then prevailing climate and the possibilities of irrigation afforded ideal facilities. It is possible that some traces of prehistoric canals may be found in the course of future excavations; in many parts of the Panjab to-day we already see a large number of old canals now not in use. Among the numerous implements obtained from different sites very few pertain to agriculture. Probably the implements of agriculture for the most part were made of wood, which has entirely perished. One or two roughly chipped objects of chert, says E. Mackay, which could not possibly be weapons, were "probably ploughshares, and were very likely quite efficient in the stoneless, alluvial soil of the

Indus valley." Thus though we do not know so far much about the art of this industry, there is enough evidence to show that wheat, cotton, barley, sesamum, melons, dates, plants like the lotus, all similar to those grown locally to-day in the Panjab, were cultivated. Wheat, as now, was the staple article of diet, as it was placed in the cinerary urns for the dead about 5,000 years ago. An ear of Indus wheat has yielded to the process of agriculture a wheat of quite surprising quality. (*)

In this advanced civilization of prehistoric times, industries other than agriculture played a prominent part. The excavations have yielded abundant material that points to a high level of various arts and crafts practised by the Chalcolithic people. Some light is incidentally thrown upon their domestic life by the art-crafts, in addition to numerous objects of household use, found in dwelling houses. In general it may be said the crafts of the weaver, potter, smith, and jeweller were specially flourishing. Numerous spindle whorls in the debris of houses attest the practice of spinning and weaving. That these whorls were made of pottery and shell, as well as

(*) The ear, which according to reports published in London papers, was obtained by the S.P.G. School of Umedpur from the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, was successfully reproduced by them. Evidently they have now a whole plot of the Mohenjo-Daro wheat at the School. As many as nine branches spring from the plant that rises from the Mohenjo-Daro wheat and the output of the crop is quite prolific, judging from the weight of the wheat harvested from the plot.

the more expensive composition, faience, indicates that weaving was practised in homes by the rich and poor alike. Fabrics of cotton, probably also of wool and linen, were manufactured. Male attire seems to have consisted of two garments: a thin band, skirt or kilt worn round the waist and a plain or embroidered shawl or robe drawn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. "The figure of a man on a sherd found at Harappa might be wearing breeches, or alternately, a close clinging dhoti." Common domestic vessels were made of clay, worked on a wooden wheel by the potter's foot or spun by hand, and were baked in kilns afterwards. These earthenware vessels included a large variety of pots, jars, dishes, etc., of various sizes and shapes. Smiths and jewellers worked in metals by hammering and casting to make implements, weapons, domestic vessels and ornaments, a large variety of which has been discovered in the Indus Valley. (*) The implements and weapons included chisel, razors, saws, knives, spear-heads, daggers, arrow-heads, etc., while the ornaments, which were worn both by men and women, included chiefly necklaces, fillets, armlets, finger-rings, girdles, ear-rings and anklets, the necklaces consisting of different kinds of beads, a very large number of which has been collected.

(*) A detailed account of all these with illustrations will be found in three volumes of Sir John Marshall and two volumes of E. Mackay on Indus Valley excavations referred to above.

As to the art of Chalcolithic people, the data collected shows that they were good artizans, skilled metal workers and highly artistic, far in advance of what we should expect **four** or five thousand years ago. The excellence of architecture and masonry, for which bricks, stones and mortar were used, is quite remarkable. The pottery is either plain or fine. The fine, i.e. painted, ware is decorated with many designs in black paint on a red slip or wash, which include vegetable and animal motifs, as also various geometrical designs such as concentric circles. The art of working different metals and other similar material was also popular. Ornaments were made of gold, silver or copper plated with gold, of blue faience, ivory, cornelian, jadeite, and multicolor stones of various kinds. Those of shell or terracotta were probably made for the poor. The Indus Valley people, it is interesting to find, had also begun to make bronze, the percentage of tin alloy with copper in it ranging from nine to twenty-six per cent. The copper and rarely bronze were employed for the manufacture of weapons, implements and even domestic vessels. Lead was also known and worked. The figured art of the Indus Valley is exhibited by a large number of clay or terracotta figulines of deities, men, women, birds, carts, etc., a few human heads and animal figures made of stone, and also a soapstone statue of a bearded male. But perhaps

the best examples of this art "are afforded by the steatite seals, on which are depicted such animals as the humped or Brahmani bull, the elephant, the buffalo, the tiger, the rhinoceros, and fantastic creatures like the unicorn, together with inscriptions in pictographic characters." On them the figures are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and form unequalled in any contemporary art outside the Indus Valley.

Naturally a civilization in which agriculture and industry played so important a part could not subsist without commerce. That there was considerable trade in the Chalcolithic cities is proved by a system of weights that was prevailing, and the imports of various raw materials used in many art-crafts of the period from the neighbouring territories to the east and west of the Indus Valley; in particular, copper, tin, lead, stone, shell etc. must have been supplied from other parts of India. The pictographic signs stamped on copper bars and engraved on seals perhaps served to authenticate their commercial value; other documents, being on perishable material, perhaps skin or cloth, have not survived; clay does not appear to have been used for commercial writings. Carts and chariots, pack-animals, and boats were the usual methods of transport. Besides, as shown above, there was commercial intercourse, both by land and sea, between the Indus Valley, Elam and Mesopotamia. On this question the latest opinion of E. Mackay is

expressed in the following words: "I am inclined to the view that the Indian merchants used both land and sea routes. There can be no reasonable doubt that the sea-route was constantly used, as it is at the present day, though the total distance from the modern port of Karachi to Basra is well over 1,400 miles and may have been longer in ancient times, for there is strong evidence that the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris and of the Indus were further inland than they ^{now} ^(*) are".

The language of the whole Indus Valley, or at any rate that of the ruling people in it, to judge from the identical writing from Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, was one and the same. It has unfortunately not been possible to determine the nature of this language from the inscribed material so far available - seals, sealings and slabs. In spite of some attempts made, not even the name of a single person or place has been read, nor can any one sign or group of signs on the objects be pointed out at this stage as having a definite pronunciation. As a matter of fact most of the usual conditions of decipherment, such as bilingual inscriptions, ^(§) are still lacking, so that the question of language, until the Indus writing is deciphered, can-

(*) Further Excavations, Vol II, Chapter xix, p.647.
Also read Sir Aurel Stein, A.S.I., Memoir No 43 (1931)
on Tour in Gedrosia.
(§) As in the case of Old Persian and Semitic cuneiform scripts.

not be satisfactorily answered. At any rate, when it is admitted that the Indus civilization was of independent growth, the language too must be indigenous, that is, Indian, but what Indian language it was is again difficult to answer. Elsewhere we have referred to a Dravidian dialect being present in Baluchistan on the west of the Indus, and shown some indications of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech which suggest the existence of Dravidians in the north, including the Panjab. The most natural hypothesis, therefore, would be that the language was a Dravidian one - a hypothesis which is also supported by the fact that Dravidian is the most widely spread family in India after the Indo-European, against which it has successfully held its own in the south. (*)

Much has been written and many wild conjectures have been indulged in on the subject of Indus Valley writing, this being the oldest script known in India. Palaeographers

(*) In his essay The "Numeral-Signs" of the Mohenjo-Daro Script (A.S.I., Memoir, No.57, 1938) Mr Alan S.C. Ross comes to the following conclusions:

- (a) The chief numeration-system of the basic language of the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro documents is decimal, the numeral 12 being specifically indicated.
 - (b) The chief function of the numeral signs is syllabic.
 - (c) The language cannot be Dravidian, for in Dravidian 9 is a change-point (e.g. Tamil onbadu, meaning one from 10), so the Harappa-Mohenjo-Daro language is not Dravidian. And it is not Munda, where we find quaternary, decimal, vigesimal, and possibly quinary systems, and perhaps the original system was quaternary only. But it might be primitive Indonesian, where the system is purely decimal.
- We fear the argument of (c) is not very convincing.

observe that the first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures or direct imitations of actual objects. Then an improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by substituting a part for the whole, e.g., a human head for a man, a bird's head for a bird, etc. The system was still further extended by ^{giving to certain} pictures indirect values or powers symbolical of the objects represented. (*) This was the case with the ancient Egyptians, Sumerians and other peoples. A similar process appears to have taken place in prehistoric India. We find from the Indus Valley objects that in the Panjab there was in Chalcolithic times a pictorial script similar in kind to those used in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Elam. (§) From examination of characters and from analogy we can say that the Indus writing also had ideographic signs, i.e. some pictures or groups of lines derived by simplification from pictures in order to represent ideas or to serve as phonographic signs for the sounds of ideas, i.e. pictures used to denote sounds of the commonest words expressing the ideas of pictures, or both sounds and ideas. In addition,

(*) For example, a jackal was made the type of cunning.

(§) Very few similarities that are sometimes picked up between scripts of these countries and also that of Easter Islands for the purpose of proving the origin of one from the other should be understood as only accidental.

as is shown by certain characters, writing in the Indus Valley had probably come to develop a few diacritical adjuncts, and some conventional signs to denote ideas not capable of being expressed in pictorial forms, such as nearness, separation etc. A system of separate signs for each syllable was always a later stage of development in all ancient countries; this, however, in the case of the Indus script it is not possible to trace.

Some authorities on Babylonian script, to mention specially Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. Cadd, (*) hold that there may have been originally some connection of the Indus script with the Sumerian writing, (§) but the relation is so far back that it does not help to decipher the Indus script. A close similarity between a few Sumerian signs and a few on the Indus seals proves nothing; independent drawings of the same object may easily resemble each other. The same may be said of Prof. Langdon, who lays down the theory that the Brāhmī (o) alphabet has originated from the Indus pictographic signs. (x) The fact is that the early Brāhmī characters consist mainly of simple geometrical forms, which with a little ingenuity can be derived from

(*) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit., Vol II, Chapter xxii.

(§) Preserved only in few signs on Assyrian tablets. Two of these tablets in the British Museum, 81-7-27, 49-50, are published in Cuneiform Text Vol V, Plate 7, and three fragments all apparently from the same tablet, said to have been excavated in the south-east Palace at Nimrud, K.8520, are published by Houghton in Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol VI, p.454. The script used in the explanation of the archaic signs is that used in Babylonia (circa 2000 B.C.)

(o) The earliest script of India that has been deciphered. See below, p.303.

(x) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit., Vol II, Chapter xxiii.

any system of symbols, if one is allowed to select some twenty out of two or three hundred symbols. Prof. Langdon, with all due respect, did not know really anything of Indian scripts, and his theory need not be accepted, more especially when we do not know the values of Indus pictorial and conventionalized forms. (*)

The most plausible view, in our opinion, is that the Brahmi writing, as investigated by experts in Indian palaeography, liked Bühler, Fleet and Ehandarkar, was derived from the phoenician type of Semitic alphabet several centuries, believed to be five, before the time of Asoka (third century B.C.), but that the Indians who borrowed it added to its consonants a system of diacritical or vowel marks inherited originally from the Chalcolithic script. Little else can follow in the present nature of our knowledge on the subject.

Of the Indus Valley religion some traces are left in the relics of a religious character. These indicate there existed a number of cults: the cult of a male God and Mother Goddess, worship of animals, trees and inanimate stones, like the present linga and yoni, and other similar objects. (§) Obviously many of the features of

(*) Similar views of Dr. Pran Nath (J.R.A.S., 1931, pp 671-74; I.H.Q. Vol II, 1931 and Vol VIII, 1932) and K.P. Jayaswal (Ind. Ant. 1933) are not to be taken seriously, being based on a series of very doubtful assumptions. The methods of reading adopted by them would yield results of a sort with any series of signs taken at random.

(§) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit., Vol I, Chapter V, pp 49 ff; E. Mackay, Indus Civilization, Chapter III, pp 64 ff.

MLXII
1459-6.

modern Hinduism in the Panjab and elsewhere in India are traceable to this primitive source. Among the animals found to have been worshipped were the unicorn (rhinoceros), tiger, elephant, goat or ram, buffalo, bull (both humped and humpless), fish eating ghariyal, etc. Some seal-amulets also portray composite animals; one has a human face, the trunk of an elephant, the horns of a bull, tail of a tiger, another is a human-faced goat and so forth. But of them all the most frequently represented in terracotta figures and on seal-amulets is the humped bull. Trees appear to have been worshipped in two forms - one "in its natural form, the other in which the tree spirit is personified and endowed with human shape and human attributes." The trees portrayed on the seals are either realistic or conventionalized, ^(*) the pipal figuring on many of the seals bearing trees. But the most interesting and best known from the remains, as we shall see, are the cults of the fertilizing ¹²god and fertility goddess (Mother Goddess) and of their respective symbols in linga and yoni.

Representations of the fertility god are seen on three or four seal-amulets. One of them (Ibid, Plate XII, figure 17), with an inscription on the top, depicts him as the prototype of the later Siva, Sir John Marshall ^(§) tells us

(*) Cf. Sir John Marshall, loc.cit, Vol I, Plate XII, figure 18, facing p.52.

(§) Ibid, pp 52-53.

that the god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a religious attitude, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, with toes turned upwards, arms outstretched and hands extended above the knees. He has a pair of horns crowning the head, two deer beneath the throne and an elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo grouped round him. It is noteworthy that the upper part of his body is well clad and well ornamented, but the lower limbs are bare and the ūrdha-medhra, 'phallus or male organ upraised', clearly exhibited. (*) Thus it will appear from this interpretation of the seal that almost all the specific traits of the later Rudra-Śiva as Pasupati, Yogi, Mahesa, etc., were anticipated in the remote age to which this seal belongs. (§) Moreover, as pointed out by E. Mackay, "On two seals a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from the head between the horns strongly suggests that the figure so ornamented was a fertility or vegetation god, again analogous with Shiva, who personifies the reproductive powers of Nature."

More popular, however, in the Indus Valley, seems to have been the cult of a goddess, as shown in more than one type by numerous female figures of clay, similar to those met with in the Near and Middle East. These figures, to take a very common type, are generally nude, except for a

(*) On the question of ūrdha-medhra see Dr. Bhandarkar, An. Rep, A.S.I. for 1906-7, p 186 (quoted by Sir John, loc.cit, Vol I, p.55) and also his latest publication Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, Madras 1940, pp 43-45.

(§) Indus Civilization, p 71.

very short skirt, They "wear much jewellery and a curious fan-shaped head-dress with two cup-like objects, one on either side, although in some specimens this last feature is much more pronounced than in others. Several of these cups have smoke stains inside, which suggest that oil or little pellets of incense were burned in them, in order that the goddess might hearken to the petitions of the worshipper. (*) These figures were probably votives denoting, as in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, the cult of a fertility goddess. (§) Another good representation of the goddess is to be found on the oblong sealing from Harappa, noticed above, in which is depicted a nude female figure upside down with legs apart and a plant issuing from her womb. It is possible also to discover another type of her in the figure of a standing and almost nude female, elaborately dressed and profusely ornamented (Sir John Marshall, loc.cit., vol III Plate XCIV, Nos 6 to 8). The similarity between the Indus Valley and western figures, coupled with the existence of the worship of the Mother Goddess in India from ancient times down to the present, has led scholars to believe that these figures of clay and some pictorial representations on seals represent the great Indian Mother Goddess, the future consort of Siva, the well-known Mahādevī or Jagadambā of

(*) Ibid, p 66.

(§) This is however no reason to assume that the cult was an importation into the Indus Valley from the west.

Hinduism. In the Indus Valley religion, this Goddess had an independent cult of her own, and was probably not connected with the primitive Śiva. Her association with him, as traced through old Indian literature, was the result of a long and gradual process in the cultural history of India.

Another important cult of the Chalcolithic religion which is still commonly practised throughout India is the worship of these fertility deities with phallic emblems. This is shown by the discovery in many places of several relics of a phallic character - conical and ring stones - resembling the linga and yoni types, with which Śaivism and Śāktism are closely connected. (*) Perhaps the smaller specimens of these phallic objects, which are more numerous than the larger ones meant for worship, were carried and worn as amulets like seals. There is no doubt whatever about the phallic character of these conical and ring stones, since they have been discovered on the same sites and some of them are very realistic in design, though others are more or less conventionalized. Nor is it doubtful that these stones are cult images; such images have been employed in the worship of deities of fertility in the ancient civilized world as the symbols of creative or productive power. It has been observed that the primitive mind was

(*) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit., Vol I, Chapter V, pp. 58-62.

deeply impressed by the process of procreation on which depends the very existence of all life on this earth, and it came to look upon the phallus and the yoni, the sexual organs through which procreation is effected, as endowed with mysterious potency. Thus the sexual worship was not necessarily obscene; the phallic symbols began to be adored out of veneration for one deity or the other. (*) This primitive cult has been found widely prevalent side by side with the worship of fertility deities in the Near as well as the Middle East. So it was in its Indian form (§) in the prehistoric Indus Valley and elsewhere in India.

We may now consider the mode of disposal of the dead practised among the Indus people. This is to be regarded as more or less religious, because funeral rites, whatever they be, are closely connected with some religious belief concerning conditions of the dead in the next world. From the absence of graves proper in the Indus Valley, it is fairly clear that the dead were cremated, though possibly burial may have existed side by side, which did not find favour with the people. In fact no cemeteries or graves

(*) The cult of such symbols is not necessarily obscene, because it arose in a state of society in which there were hardly any ideas of decency as we understand it now, and because also it did not necessarily imply immoral practices. But of course fertility rites usually led to "sympathetic magic", which in this case meant immoral rites like those practised by the Śāktas in later times.

(§) Phallic stones of the Indus type have been obtained in Baluchistan. In Persia, however, there is less likelihood of the discovery of any such relics, for later civilizations have completely obliterated the traces of earlier ones, both by building on older sites and by using the ancient remains as quarries.

of the Chalcolithic epoch have been found. The examples of burials at Harappa (not at Mohenjo-Daro), complete or fractional in large urns containing either complete bodies or skulls, are, in the opinion of archaeologists, later than Chalcolithic Harappa, as is proved by the accompanying pottery vessels. The usual practice, it is generally believed, was to cremate the dead first and then either throw the ashes into the water or deposit them in funeral urns. (*) Some cremation urns, with fragments of bones placed inside, together with a variety of small household objects, have actually been discovered underneath a floor or street; their contents to some extent reflect the views of people on future life, but as yet we have very limited information on this point. So far as the origin of cremation among the Indus Valley people is concerned, it may be that these people, who were civilized enough to distinguish between the merits and demerits of burial and cremation, adopted the latter method, considering perhaps that, apart from its being hygienic, it precluded irreverent exhumation which is the lot of so many thousands of bodies, and the neglect of graves which is so evident in many cemeteries. What particular religious idea, if any, was at the bottom at so early a date of this institution, which has continued up till now in India, is not possible to ascertain. (§)

(*) Cf. An. Rep., A.S.I., 1924-25, pp. 74-75.

(§) There is, however, a suggestion that cremation may have been intended to sublimate the body so as to convey the
(continued next page)

Note continued) dead man by the agency of fire to the spirit-world. This motive was perhaps attributed later by the Aryans with whom fire was a very important deity, a messenger god.

i.

The Chalcolithic civilization described above undoubtedly lasted a long time, as several strata of ruins have been discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. The cities on these two sites and others in the Indus valley, according to Sir John Marshall, would seem to go back as far as the end of the fourth millennium (3,250) and to have survived (*) to the beginning of the third millennium (c. 2,750) B.C. The essential piece of his evidence for this dating is based on the two seals of the Indus Valley now in the Baghdad Museum, which were found at the Mesopotamian sites of Kish and Ur in deposits assignable to the pre-Sargonic period, i.e. three or four centuries before 2,800 B.C. This hypothetical limit, which already rests on Babylonian chronology (§) and as such cannot be taken as finally settled on the evidence available, has been recently revised in the light of a stone vessel with a mat-carving, peculiarly Indus and obtained at the level of over twenty eight feet on the site of Mohenjo-Daro. Fortunately it occurs in Sumerian vessels at Tell Asmar and Kish in Mesopotamia, but is exactly duplicated on a double jar unearthed at Susa (second period) in Persia, which is assigned (o) by E. Mackay on good evidence to about 2,800 B.C., so

(*) Sir John Marshall, loc.cit, Vol I. Chap viii, p.104.

(§) Prof. Sidney Smith, it may be pointed out, in his recent work Alalakh and Chronology has shown reasons for considerably lowering the date of Hammurabi from 2100 B.C. to 1780 B.C.

(o) Further Excavations, Vol I, p.7. Cf. Indus Civilization, p.194.

that the beginning of the Chalcolithic level may well be placed now in the first quarter of the third millenium B.C., and not in 3,250 B.C. that was provisionally fixed. We are, however, on a more reliable ground as to the lower limit of the date, though when exactly the Indus civilization finally receded into the background is not definitely known, at any rate from its relics. The evidence for this is a cylinder seal, certainly of the Indus motif and workmanship, which, together with certain other objects imported from the Indus valley, was discovered by Dr. Frankfort in a well-defined level at Tell Asmar. It has been assigned by him on authentic evidence to the dynasty of Akkad, i.e. 2,500 B.C. (*)

But this date should in no wise be taken as that of the final downfall of the Indus Chalcolithic culture. It is not unlikely that the three successive strata of its cities which have been laid bare at Mohenjo-Daro and similar ones at Harappa took a longer time in their rise and decline; they thus do not preclude the possibility of their survival into a later period. In that case the lower limit of the Indus Chronology will have to be pushed further down by at least two or three centuries to the last quarter of the third millenium B.C., say to circa

(*) Further Excavations, pp 6-7.

2,200 B.C.; and this, it is believed, will no doubt be soon confirmed by fresh evidence coming forth on further operations at prehistoric sites of both Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley. Very possibly then, we shall have to regard the influx of the early Aryans as having caused the decline of this Chalcolithic civilization, in as much as there is evidence in the Rgveda, the earliest literary monument of the Aryans in India and dated about 2,000 B.C., that they really came in contact with a people bearing the religion and customs of the Indus Valley. That the ancestors of the Rgvedic Aryans, who undoubtedly possessed better resources, superior physique and intellect, as we shall show, were probably the destroyers of the Indus civilization of India is, moreover, supported by the apparent Aryan institutions in the Panjab, their first occupation in India and the disappearance of the Chalcolithic art, architecture, language, and many other creations. Thus, in spite of some uncertainties which are being reduced as the evidence available is accumulating, this must be regarded as the only possible and satisfactory position from the standpoint of cultural history.

Nonetheless, some of our scholars in India have denied this and tried to show that the Chalcolithic culture was the result of natural changes, partly developments and partly deterioration, of earlier Vedic ideas and

(*) practices. They do not show that the Indus Valley people were Aryans; they rather start with the wholly unjustified assumption that the Vedic Aryans were the builders of the Indus culture and religion. In this view we see on their part simply an instance of the almost incomprehensible desire sometimes found with certain scholars for always discovering somehow data which may carry the Rgveda and other Vedic texts back to an extravagant antiquity. (§) Nothing as yet discovered affords any indication that the Indus Valley people, were in any way akin to the Aryans, used a group of dialects belonging to the so-called 'Indo-European' family of languages widely spread in Asia and Europe, and who composed the Vedic hymns in one of those dialects (latterly called Sanskrit, though properly this term designates the literary language used by the post-Vedic Aryans, which is mainly based upon a sister of the Vedic dialect). Even Prof. Langdon, who derives the Aryan Brāhmin alphabet from the Chalcolithic script, assuming at the same time that the Indus people passed it on to the Aryans, admits that the former did not speak 'Sanskrit'.

(*) E.g. Dr. L. Sarup in Indian Culture, October, 1937 pp. 149 ff (replied by Dr. E. J. Thomas in I.H.Q., vol xiv, June, 1938, pp 127 ff) and J.P.U. His. Soc., vol v, April 1938, pp 60-61; Prof. Venkateswara in The Cultural Heritage of India, vol III, 111, pp 53-57.

(§) One of these scholars, strangely enough, has gone to the extent of assigning the Rgveda to an age when bone and stone were in use.

On the other hand, the culture of the Indus Valley appears to be of a non-Vedic type. That it was pre-Aryan and pre-Vedic is clear from the fact that iron is conspicuous by its absence in its abundant remains excavated at various sites. According to Sir John Marshall it definitely represents the Stone-Copper (Chalcolithic) age, (*) no matter if some bronze is also in evidence. On the whole, it is to be observed that nowhere in India does a Bronze age proper appear between Copper and Iron ages. In the north, including the Panjab and Sind, the Stone-Copper age must gradually have passed into the Iron age, while in the south iron appears immediately after stone. The fact is that it was the Aryans who first knew and brought iron, (ayas, śyāma ayas or śyāma) into the north, and introduced it in the course of their colonization into the south, which was still in the stone age, mainly Neolithic. (§)

But among the Chalcolithic remains of the Indus valley the most striking discovery is perhaps one that proved the existence here of religious notions quite different from those of the Rgveda. They are manifestly

(*) In the domain of prehistoric archaeology very little has been done in India. Efforts have occasionally been made in this direction, but so far instances of Stone age (i.e. Palaeolithic and Neolithic) relics are rare in the Panjab. A number of pre-Chalcolithic relics has recently been collected from some parts of India, the Panjab included, by Archaeological Survey and the Cambridge-Yale Expedition. It is hoped that before long a systematic study of all the material so far found in India will make it possible to determine the course, and sequence of human endeavour in the age of Man's infancy.

(§) Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, London 1912, Vol I, p.32. Also Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol I, pp 614-5; p 613.

pre-Aryan, but are still predominant in the popular cults of India. Evidence of this is furnished by numerous objects, peculiar to Indian forms of worship, such as the phallic stones, i.e. the linga and yonī emblems, representations of the sacred bull and the pipal tree, a Śivaitic god, and the Śakti or Mother Goddess. Let us make this point clear by taking one or two important examples. The Rudra-Siva cult of later times is clearly a fusion of two lines of religious thought, the Aryan and non-Aryan.

There are some traits in this cult, for the explanation of which we have to find some non-Vedic sources. That it was pre-Aryan in its origin is indicated by the following evidence:

- 1) Sisnadevas, worshippers of the śisna or linga (phallus), the chief emblem of Rudra-Siva worship ^(*) are mentioned ^(§) twice in the Rgveda, where Indra's intercession is sought against them. Evidently they could not be worshippers or followers of the Vedic Siva-Rudra, who is celebrated in three separate hymns of the Rgveda and a few other stanzas.
- 2) The worship of Rudra-Siva is never connected with the śisna or phallus in the Rgveda; where it appears to be mentioned, it is condemned. Neither is this śisna-linga,

(*) It is wrong to assume that the linga was originally not a phallus but merely a symbol of Siva; that when the worship of the linga as a symbol once started, there was little to prevent a confusion in the popular mind between this and the worship of the phallus; and that the legends related in the Mahābhārata and Purānas came to be invented after the establishment of the worship of the linga as the phallus of Siva. That is only a way to explain away the passages in the Mahābhārata and Purānas which definitely regard the linga as a phallus.

(§) See below, Chapter III, p. 194.

characteristic, which becomes a prominent feature of late Saivism, associated with any early Vedic ritual, or even with Rudra-Siva worship as traced in the other Vedas and their Brāhmanas, composed subsequently to Rgvedic times. (*)

- 3) The Aryans worshipped the good and benevolent deities of Nature, while the characteristics of the later Rudra-Siva in general are those of a malevolent, horrid and cruel deity, propitiated with gruesome rites like magic and sorcery by primitive folk. In the Vedas, where he has assumed a dual character, his appearance is described as awful and his character formidable; even the Rgveda, the earliest of them, describes some features in him which are non-Vedic, e.g. his colour is brown or red; he is as destructive as a terrible beast, etc. (§)

(*) Dr. Sarup, however, contends that we can see the existence of phallic worship in the Asvamedha sacrifice as described in the Yajurveda and Satapatha Brāhmana (for references see his article in Indian Culture quoted above), and concludes that the Aryan ritual with phallic rite had a very high antiquity, going as far back as the Rgvedic ages, which in the opinion of the learned doctor were mostly primitive and prior to the epoch represented by the highly developed civilization of the Indus valley. In this connection we may quote Mr. Yaduvamsi who has recently made a very thorough and careful survey of the whole vedic literature with reference to the Rudra-Siva cult in his thesis (1938, London University), which I have been permitted to read in typescript, but which has not yet been published. He says there is nothing whatever in this literature which may suggest that there was any phallic rite in the Aryan ritual. "The phallic organs", it is pointed out on p.38 of the Thesis, "are indeed frequently mentioned and many a metaphor and allegory is based on the sexual act, which, perhaps, also played a part in some fertility rites, as, for example, in the particular rite in the Asvamedha ceremony in which the chief wife of the sacrificer cohabited with the dead horse. But there is nothing to show that phallic emblems were ever worshipped or honoured."

(§) Prof. A.B.Keith, after surveying the whole Vedic literature
(continued)

Again, efforts have been made to trace the origin of the cult of the popular fertility Goddess of the Indus Valley from the Vedic religion. But there is no deity in early or later Vedic religion which can be supposed to have developed into the Mother-Goddess. All female deities mentioned in the Vedic literature, such as Prāthivī, Rodasī and Vāk, are of minor importance and nowhere in Vedic texts conceived of as the Mother with any fertility rites attached to them. The Mother Goddess, we know, was an independent Goddess of the first rank in the Indus Valley, with a developed cult of her own. Later on, however, she came to be worshipped both as the consort of Rudra-Siva^(*) and by herself as the great Mother Goddess, the Śakti. In the former aspect her worship became an integral part of late Śaivism, and in the latter we can see the beginnings of Śaktism or Tāntrism, in which several of the old fertility rites connected with her worship survived in India.^(§)

Note continued) ture in respect of the early and later traits of Rudra-Siva, is convinced of gradual fusion in the composite Rudra-Siva and says, "In the later Siva there are many traces of conceptions commonly associated with vegetation spirits, and his phallic cult is one which is condemned by the Rgveda, but which undoubtedly remained as popular among the aborigines as it now is among Siva worshippers throughout India". (Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, Cambridge Mass. 1925, Vol 31, p.148). Also Cf. E. Arberman's Rudra. Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus, Uppsala, 1922, in which the author has shown fully the non-Vedic nature of Rudra-Siva; all his views, however, are not acceptable.

(*) Under various names - Umā, Pārvatī, Chamundā, Chandī, Gaurī, Kālā, Durgā etc. Such relationships in religion occur frequently and may indicate a blend of two independent cults as the result of mingling of beliefs.

(§) Details of these are given in the texts known as Tantras; some are revolting and horrible. Read Shakti and Shākta, second edition, London 1920, by Sir John Woodroffe.

Apart from these evidences - use of metals different from those used by the Aryans and religious fusion - there are other considerations which include proofs from (1) relative antiquity, shown by depth of site, which go back to a date far earlier than the emergence of the Aryans into history, (2) pottery showing continuous development from earliest times in close affinity with prehistoric pottery found outside India, (3) a pictographic script apparently similar in origin with that of Sumer, though it has considerably diverged, (4) absence of knowledge of the horse, which was familiarly known to the Aryans and seemingly to all other Indo-European peoples from very early times, (*) and (5) evidence of settled urban life in brick houses, well built and well planned, for many centuries before the arrival of the Aryans, who were at the time of migration into the Indus Valley almost nomads and not settled people.

So, the fundamental differences of religion and archaeological considerations, to which others can be added, should be quite enough to convince scholars holding extreme views on this matter. And, if despite this, they still cling to their theories, we, at any rate, in the light of obvious facts believe that the Indus culture, which speaks through "stocks and stones" as it were and

(*) Remains of the horse which is described in numerous hymns of the Rgveda have not been found in Chalcolithic levels. They are found along with camel-bones in higher or later levels.

appears yet non-literary, definitely preceded that of the Rgvedic Aryans. As a matter of fact, the history of Indian Civilization in general is complicated by the fact that the whole of it has been overwhelmingly Aryanized. It has, therefore, become difficult to separate it from the older. The vestiges of Chalcolithic man, as known from the Indus valley and elsewhere in India, when critically and dispassionately examined with the evidence from Indian literature side by side, give a clear indication that the pre-existing civilization exercised an important influence upon the institutions of the Aryans, who ultimately took possession of almost the whole of India. The Panjab, even if there are now left ^{in it} fewer traces of the Indus Valley people, could not be an exception to that natural influence. With the immigration of the Aryans into that country, some elements of the pre-Aryan culture found entry into their civilization, which ultimately developed a type of its own, distinct in some forms from those evolved by the Aryans when they advanced later (*) towards the east and settled in the valley of the Ganges. It should, however, be remembered that the Aryan occupation of the Panjab was a slow and gradual process, during which a considerable amount of assimilation of Aryan culture with that of the pre-existing people of the Indus Valley must have taken place among the general population in

(*) See below, Chapter VI.

Aryan society, if not among the higher classes. That this was the case may be accepted as probable, though for the Panjab, except the Rgveda, we have no adequate literary evidence such as we possess for other parts of India, the culture of which is described in varied literature, Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain, the whole furnishing us with indubitable proofs of cultural contacts and their resultant amalgamation. Many of the features of Hindu religion, customs and manners in the Indus Valley of today can best be accounted for as originating with the pre-Aryans living in that region. If they are not recorded in the ^{earliest} hymns of the Rgveda, that only means that a part of the Aryan population, who followed mainly Rgvedic ideas, long remained to a large extent unaffected by the process of assimilation.

The Aryan conquest of the Panjab belongs in the story of ancient India to a stage of history. We have evidence regarding it in the literary sources, especially the Rgveda, which is the most ancient of the Vedas and is the very foundation of Aryan history and culture in India. This early history which lies in literature, and is primarily connected with the Panjab, will be related next.

Chapter III.

Aryans in the Panjab.

Part (1)

The advent of the Aryans in the Panjab presents to us a problem that is no longer one of prehistory, but of history, the first period of which begins from the time of their occupation of the country and ends with the Bhārata War, which was fought, as generally agreed, at about 1000 B.C. in the plain called Kurukshetra. Our first acquaintance with them is from the hymns of the Rgveda, (*) which show them to us as a people settled in the Indus valley and

The earliest literary document of the Aryans and their civilisation, which was largely produced in the Panjab. (See below p. 181 ff) In the text of the Rgveda which has come down to us only in one Śākala recension, the Samhitā, i.e. collection consists of 1028 Śuktas or hymns (these include eleven Vālakhilya hymns universally admitted to be much later than the latest hymns in the Samhitā), covering a total of about 10,600 stanzas, and divided into ten Mandalas or Books (the Ashtaka division is not very popular). Modern scholars recognise in these hymns different chronological strata. The six family books, according to them, formed the nucleus of the Rgveda Samhitā and are the oldest. Next in order of time follow Books I and VIII. Book IX, which is entirely in praise of Soma, was formed by collecting appropriate hymns from various sources. Book X, which contains hymns of various ages, both ancient and later, seems to have been added to the previous Books in order to complete the collection. In most but not all of the hymns of this Book, both the language and the matter are more advanced than those of Books I to IX.

The hymns of the Veda, when they came to be considered as mantras, i.e. magical formulae in the various

Footnote continued.

sacrifices and rites, were memorized and preserved by entirely oral tradition (see Yaska's Nirukta, I.20, ed. and trans. by Dr. Sarap, Text (Lahore 1927), pp 41-42, Translation (Oxford 1920) p.20.) with special care and formal precision, which had no equal among the world's literatures. They were not all composed at one time, but covered a long period, the length and era of which cannot be measured with certainty. Scholars are divided in opinion as to the probable date of the earliest stratum of the Rgveda. We shall discuss this question below in connection with the antiquity of the Aryan migration into the Panjab. Here it may be said that the upper dates proposed, of course leaving aside more speculative estimates, have varied from 2500 B.C. to 1200 B.C.

Besides the Rgveda Samhitā, there are three other Samhitās: the Samaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. Of these the first and second consist almost exclusively of hymns derived from the Rgveda, but especially arranged for ritual purposes. The third or Atharvaveda Samhitā borrowed less from the Rgveda, and is to a large extent of a different character. It is thus the Rgveda Samhitā which is of primary importance for history of the early Aryans. The other three Vedic Samhitās, so far as they are independent of the Rgveda, are definitely later in date, having arisen during the period of Aryan expansion beyond the Panjab eastward.

(For the detailed account of these Samhitās and their relative dates read Prof. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, London 1900; Prof. Winternitz's Geschichte Indischen Litteratur, Part I, Engl. trans. by Mrs. Ketkar, Calcutta 1927; Prof. Keith in Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Cambridge 1922, Chapters IV and V, and also his Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Massachusetts 1925, First half, Part I, Chapters 1 and 2).

2.

the modern Panjab. That country they had conquered from the highlands that separated India from Iran.

These Aryans belonged to a group of tribes speaking various dialects of the same tongue, who had been living somewhere in Central Asia^(*) for a long period, with the ancestors of the Iranians, Greeks, Italians, French, Germans, Dutch, English, Slavs, and others. They had thus a previous history with an extra-Panjab connection. Unfortunately, however, the advent of the Aryans, is not recorded in the Rgveda, much less their earlier movements. Even the one geographical hymn in Rgvedic literature^(§) indicates a complete oblivion of an earlier home and makes no direct reference to the successive waves which carried the Aryan tribes on to the Panjab; nor do we possess any authentic and historical tradition in later Indian literature which may throw light on this important event.^(o)

How are then we to know that these Aryans were invaders or immigrants from the north-west and that they had a history before their entry into the Panjab? This is best shown by a certain number of linguistic links between the speech of the

(*) In Europe according to a less probable view.

(§) Rgveda, X.75.

(o) According to the Purānic (Brahmanical) tradition, the Sūrya-vamśa (i.e. Solar race) originated in Ayodhyā, near Faizabad; while the Chandra-vamśa (i.e. Lunar race) in Pratiśthāna, near Allahabad, both places in the Gangetic valley. But this traditional view of the Aryan origin, which we shall discuss below in detail, is incredible, owing to difficulties, philological or linguistic and archaeological, the latter involving ethnological questions as well.

Aryans and many other languages in Asia and Europe, now removed from one another by thousands of miles and thousands of years. Philologists declare that when several languages have the most essential parts of their vocabulary in common and also agree in general structure, they may be said to belong to the same family, which implies that all the members of the family have a common ancestor or have developed out of a common source. We know, for instance, that the modern languages of North India are derived from the primary spoken dialects on which Sanskrit (Vedic as well as Classical) was based, and that the Romance languages arose from the spoken dialects on which Latin was based. It is a necessary further step to posit a common source from which Sanskrit, Greek, Slavonic Latin and likewise many other languages were derived. The common source of all the related languages is termed Indo-European, (*) a name which is only theoretical and intended merely to indicate the geographical extension of this family of speech. We owe this discovery to Sir William Jones, once Chief Justice of Bengal, whose epoch-making address in 1786 to the Asiatic Society of Bengal laid the foundation for the scientific study of Comparative Philology.

(*) Names of other parent languages, marked by certain common characteristics distinguishing them from Indo-European are Austro-Asiatic (Munda or Kolarian,), Dravidian (Brahm, Tamil, Telugu, etc), Semitic (Arabic, Hebrew, etc), Hamitic (ancient Egyptian), and so on.

4.

This ancient Indo-European parent tongue, spoken very likely in central Asia, as we shall show, at some very remote period, is now represented by a number of groups of languages. In Asia the chief groups are Indian and Iranian. The Indian group includes the Sanskrit of the ancient sacred writings, that of the Epics and Classical literature, Pali and local or territorial dialects of Prakrit; from the Prakrit came many of the modern Indian languages like Lahnda, Panjabi, Hindi (also Urdu), Bengali, Marathi, etc. The earliest record is preserved in the Vedas, the oldest parts of which date from at least somewhere in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. The Iranian is represented by Old Persian and Avestic (Zend). The former is the ancestor of Pahlavi and the modern Persian dialects of Iran, Afghanistan, etc. Of the Avestic the most ancient documents are the Gāthās of Zarathustra; of Old Persian the inscriptions of Darius and his successors (520-338 B.C.). The other Asiatic languages of the Indo-European family known so far are Nesian (the language of the Hittites), the oldest form of which is found on cuneiform inscriptions and also a certain number of hieroglyphics, and Armenian and Tokharian, which are, however, not very old. The latter is believed to have been the language of the Kushans of Tokharistan (northern parts of Chinese Turkistan) who also became the rulers of the Panjab from the first century A.D.; it is discovered in two dialects of Agni-Karachar and Kucha,

preserved in documents that belong to the eighth century
(*)

A.D. The European groups are:

(1) Hellenic or Greek. It comprises three chief sub-groups: Ionic; (b) Achaean and (c) Doric. The most ancient are the Homeric poems, composed mainly in the Ionic dialect.

(2) Italic - It includes two main branches: (a) Oscan, Umbrian and Sabellian; and (b) Latin which developed on the one hand into the literary language of the Classical period, and on the other hand into the popular spoken dialects, known as Low or Vulgar Latin^(§), which was eventually carried by soldiers and merchants over the whole of the Roman Empire. Oscan, Umbrian and Latin are the chief oldest representatives.

(3) Celtic - It includes ancient Gaulish and the ancient languages of Ireland, Wales, the Highlands of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the modern descendants of these. Very few fragments of the early language are available.

(4) Teutonic or Germanic - Germanic languages have three sub-groups: (a) West Germanic, including Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old Low Franconian, Old English (Anglo-Saxon), represented at the present time by the modern German dialects of central and southern Germany and parts of Switzerland and Austria, Frisian, Dutch,

(*) See below p. 148 f. note.

(§) This Low Latin split up into the so-called Romance languages, which now include French, Provencal, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Rumanian, etc.

(*) Flemish, English, etc; (b) North Germanic or Scandinavian, including Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic, all of them known as Old Norse; (c) East Germanic, including the dialects of the Goths, Vandals etc., all now dead. The oldest record in this Teutonic group is preserved in translations of parts of the Bible in Gothic, made in the fourth century.

(5) Balto-Slavonic - This group split into (a) Baltic, represented by Lithuanian, Lettish and Old Prussian and (b) the Slavonic tongues, represented by Old Slavonic and the present Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbian, etc. The oldest type is preserved in Lithuanian, which is still very archaic. and (6) Albanian. It is now known in its modern forms only.

Between the various languages and dialects belonging to the groups enumerated above, the resemblances are many and close. As illustration of the relationships of the Indo-European languages indicated by these resemblances, the following rough comparative tables may be of interest to the reader who is not a philologist:-

skt. mātr or mātār; Lahndā and Panjabī māu; Hindi-Urdu mā; Per. mādar; Gk. mētēr; Lat. māter; Fr. mère; O.H.Ger. muotar; Ger. mutter; O.Eng. mōdor; Eng. mother; O.Slav. mati.

Skt. pitr or pitar; Lahndā and Panjabī piu; Hindi-Urdu bap; Per. pidar; Gk. patēr; Lat. pater; Fr. père; Goth. fadar; O.H.Ger. fater; Ger. Vater; O.Eng. faeder; Eng. father; Arm. hayr.

—(*) English, it will be seen, is the descendant of West Germanic Anglo-Saxon, known more generally Old English, which was brought into British Isles from Germany in the fifth century A.D. by tribes known as Angles, Saxons and Jutes. The earliest records of English are of the late seventh century.

Skt. bhrātā or bhrātar; Lahnda and Panjabi bhrā, bhā; Hindi-Urdu bhāi; Per. brādar; Gk. phrater and phrator; Lat. frater; Fr. frère; O.H.Ger. pruodar; Ger. brüder; O.Eng. brōpor; Eng. brother; O.Slav. bratrū, bratu.

Skt. svasr or svasar; Per. (Kafir Dardic) ʾspusar or spaz; Gk. heōr; Lat. soror; Fr. soeur; Goth. swistar; O.H.Ger. swestar; Ger. schwester; O.Eng. sweostor, swuster; Eng. sister; O.Slav. sestra.

Skt. tri, traya, trīṇi; Lahnda, trai, Panjabi, tinn, Hindi-Urdu. tin; Per. Gri; Gk. treis; Lat. tres, tria; Goth. trija; O.H.Ger. drī, drīo, driu; O.Norse prir; Nor.Sw.Da. tre; O.Fris. thre; O.Sax. thrie; Ger. drei; O.Eng. pri; Eng. three; Celtic (Irish and Welsh) tri; O.Slav. trije; Lith. trys.

Skt. sata, satam; Lahnda, Panjabi, etc. sau; Per. sad; Gk. ekatov; Lat. centum, Goth. hund; O.H. Ger. hunt, hundert; O.Sax. Lund, hunderod; O.Norse, hundrao; Sue. hundra; O.Eng. hundred; O.Welsh cant; O.Irish, cet; Lith. sgimtas; Tokharian Kanta.

N.B. Other corresponding words belonging to the essential parts of the Vocabularies, e.g. parts of the body, domestic animals, etc. can be multiplied.

Scholars of comparative philology collect a vast number of such examples of similar forms, careful examination of which soon teaches us to appreciate the truth of the great principle guiding all philological study, that, in spite of apparent differences between the forms of words in all Indo-European languages, there are common features, from which it must be concluded that in an earlier stage, the date of which is not possible to determine, a vast number of words were identical in the related languages and that in some or all of them they have become modified. But this is not all. Philologists have further established that the differences

in various forms are due to phonetic tendencies, which existed in each group of the family, to develop along different lines. This means that the speakers of the various ancient communities, who all started with the same language, as they drew further and further away from each other in their migrations gradually came to pronounce the same original sounds, vowels and consonants, and otherwise alter their language, in different ways. These differences are traced to various causes, such as contact with foreign peoples, time, climate, locality, change in accent, etc., and are explained by discoverable laws of phonetic changes, as they affect every sound among the various groups of languages.^(*)

However, some of the languages in the Indo-European family have undergone enormous phonetic changes, and some have passed from a purely synthetic to an almost absolutely analytical stage. Consequently, we find a great variation in their forms and types. Nevertheless, the common features found in them, on which there is general agreement, point, in spite of differences, to their origin from a common speech, spoken in a common home. Hence it is believed that the various Indo-European speaking tribes branched off from

(*) Thus, for instance, in the Indian, Iranian and Balto-Slavonic groups, a sound, which appears as k in Greek and Latin and as h in Germanic, develops into the sound of s or ś, thereby differentiating the languages into two groups, styled the satem-group and the centum-group, from the words denoting 100 in Avestic and Latin respectively; and the Germanic tongues have all undergone a process of consonantal change (Grimm's Law').

a common centre at different times at a very early date, and produced, in course of time, various groups which gave rise to numerous independent languages, of course retaining all the essential features of the original tongue. The existing Indo-European languages may, therefore, be regarded as sisters of the same parentage, divided into sister groups.

We find, moreover, that some pairs of these groups bear closer resemblances to each other and have some obvious points of distinction from other sister groups; they may well be classified in sub-families. Thus the Italic and Celtic groups represent one sub-family, Italo-Celtic; similarly the Baltic and Slavonic represent another. But the particular sub-family with which we are more concerned here is that constituted by the Indian and Iranian groups of languages. Here there are very close similarities between the language of the Rgvedic hymns on the one hand and the oldest Iranian, found in the Avestan Gāthās, which contain the utterances of Zoroaster (Zarathustra), and in the inscriptions of Darius and his successors. "Not only", says Dr. Giles, ^(*) "single words and phrases, but even whole stanzas may be transliterated from the dialect of India (Vedic Sanskrit) into the dialects of Iran without change of vocabulary or construction, though

(*) Cambridge History of India, Vol.I., Chapter III, p.74.

the appearance of the words is altered by the changes which time and isolation have brought about between the dialects east and west of Afghanistan." (*) This may be illustrated by the following examples:-

(a) Avestic stanzas with their Vedic Sanskrit forms: (§)

1. Avesta- Ad(t) ēvaohad(t) Ahurō Mazdāō vīdvāō vafūs
Sanskrit -Āt(d)avochat(d) Asurah Medhāh vīdvān vapuh
vyānaya.
vijñāya(?)
2. Avesta- Tat thvā persā ers moi vohā Ahurā Ta Chit
Mazda vaśmi anyāchā vidye
Sanskrit-Tat tvā prchohhā rju ma vach Asura Tā Chit
Medhāh vaśmi anyāchā vide.

(b) Old Persian- a passage from the inscription of Darius on the Rock at Behisten:(o)

Ōatiy Dārayavaus xsāaŋiya naiy āha martiya; naiy Pārsa naiy Māda naiy amāxam taumāyā kašciy hya avam Gau-; matam tyam magum xsāŋram dītam caxriyā kārašim hacā darasama a- ; tarsi karam vasiya avājaniyā hya paranam Bardiya adānā avahyar- ; ādiy karam avājaniyā matyamam xsnāsatiy tya adam naiy Bard-; iya amiy hya Kūraus puŋra; (Lines 48-53).

(c) Old Iranian words equalling our old Sanskrit:

Miŋra, Zaoatar, Vereŋraghna, Haoma, Yasna, Zima, Hapta, Darega, Vahista, Aspa, Ustra, Zasta or Dasta.

Mitra, Hotr or Hotar, Vrtraghna, Soma, Yajña, Hima, Sapta, Dīrgha, Vasishtha, Asva, Ushtra, Hasta.

Skt

(*) Thus, for instance, to Vedic Skt g,gh,d,dh,b,bh correspond Iranian g,d,b; Vedic kh,th,ph to Iranian ŋ,f; Vedic skt s,sh,j,h to Iranian s,z, or ŋ,d; Vedic skt, ed,edh,id,idh,ud,udh to Iranian azd, izd,uzd; Vedic skt tt,ddh to Iranian st,zd. For changes see Let it be pointed out that the changes are much greater in Iranian than in Vedic, a fact which shows that the former represents a much later stage in its growth than Vedic Skt.

(§) For such equations see Gāthās by Prof. Mills, 1894; Gāthās, III Dictionary, by the same author, 1913; also J.R.A.S., 1917, pp. 549ff and pp. 754ff.

(o) J.A.O.S., Vol 35, 1917, p. 336.

Generally speaking, it will be seen, the affinity between the old languages in India and Iran is so striking that if one knows Vedic, one can soon understand Avestic as well as Old Persian. This similarity between the two groups of speech is sometimes used by uncritical scholars as an argument for deriving the language of Iran from that of India. Such reasoning is the height of unreason. We have three cognate dialects, Old Persian, Avestic, and Vedic, and we find that the phonetic changes operating on them are pretty similar, which is just what we should expect, seeing that all three are much alike. But it would be absurd to argue from this fact that e.g. Old Persian is derived from Vedic; one might equally well argue the reverse, that Old Persian is the parent of Vedic. As a matter of fact, there were certain phonetic tendencies latent in the primitive Indo-European speech that operated in most of the groups of speech into which primitive Indo-European branched out; that is all. Moreover, those who think that some of the Indians went out of India and left a language in Iran very like their own cannot give a satisfactory explanation in the case of other related languages in Europe. There can thus be no doubt that we may speak of one language, from which the Indian and Iranian groups of speech are derived, nay of one period in which they were spoken by the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians before their separation. No modern scientific scholar has ever suggested that

the Indians and Iranians lived together in India, so the separation must have taken place by one group of their tribes going into India and another into Iran.

Thus it is that both Indian and Iranian groups of the Indo-European family have always been considered together and given collectively one name, "Indo-Iranian" or "Aryan", the latter because the tribesmen of these stocks, the later Indians and Iranians, called themselves "Arya" and "Airya" respectively. The epithet "Arya" was applied by the composers of the Rgvedic hymns to distinguish their own stock from that of their enemies, the earlier inhabitants of the Panjab, and well characterises the Aryans who spread over India. The term "Indo-Aryan" is, therefore, rightly used among students of philology and history for the branches of the Aryan language found in India, as well as for the Aryans themselves who migrated into that country.

Here we should like to interject some short account of the speakers of the original Indo-European speech the existence of which is now not only proved by philological affinities, but is confirmed by the evidence of comparative mythology and of comparative religion. (*) The name 'Indo-European', which is used for a vast system of languages of which Indo-Aryan and Iranian are important parts, is also

(*) Read article by O. Schrader on Aryan Religion in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by Hastings.

applied to the original people, who spoke the parent tongue, but who were not necessarily of one race. Probably, there was at a very early time an Indo-European nation, which may have comprised tribes of various races and culture, and which imposed its language and civilization upon many other races who carried them on. (*)

Philologists of the last century, following what seemed to be a natural method from similarities in language, regarded all speakers of the same languages as belonging to the same race and all speakers of similar languages as being ultimately related to each other. This view was shared even by anthropologists, who, during the early period of the history of the science of Anthropology, attached great importance to linguistic affinity as proving the connection of races, that is to say, as showing that particular languages were the special property or natural attribute of particular races; but it has now been discarded altogether. On the contrary, it is now held that race is not intimately connected with language, that language is more often no sure test of race, and that the present races of the world are more or less mixed. (§) There are countries speaking one language, where there is evidence that the people are

(*) La Vallee-Poussin, Indo-Europeans et Indo-Iraniens, 1924, Chapter II, pp. 26-31.

(§) H.C. Haddon, The Races of Man and their distribution, Revised edition, Cambridge, 1929, pp 2-3.

descended from ancestors of more than one race. All the speakers of the Bengali language, for example, do not belong to the same race; so also we see that the English language is now spoken by people of diverse races in England.

So, what the ethnic constitution of the Indo-European people or peoples was before their movement from the original habitat we shall perhaps never know, just as history will never know the man who discovered the use of fire. Yet a great deal of useless controversy has raged over this term 'Indo-European'. Several names have been applied to the ancient speakers of the Indo-European tongues. 'Indo-Germanic' is one of them, but it is not good, as it lays undue stress on a part played by the Germanic peoples in the history of Indo-European speech. It is pretty certain that the Germans were not part of the oldest Indo-European speaking people; they were one of the latest peoples to be assimilated to the Indo-European speech and culture. (*) The term 'Aryan' too is unsuitable, because it is applied by the Indo-Aryans and Iranians to themselves only, and therefore should be restricted to India and Iran. To give the name (§) 'Aryan' a wider meaning is a misuse of the word.

(*) Sigmund Feist: Indogermanen und Germanen, Halle, 1914, pp.76.

(§) The great German Sanskrit scholar, Max Müller, was the first to use the word 'Aryan' for a race. To him it meant not only a large group of languages, but a group of peoples as well, i.e. Aryan = Indo-European race. He, however, was later convinced by scientific friends of the enormity of his error and changed his opinion. (Biographies of words and the Home of the Aryans, London, 1888, p.120) Elsewhere he wrote: "By solidarizing and mixing up the science of language and the science of ethnology.

Dr. Giles, in order to avoid objections of this sort, adopted a more convenient and satisfactory and less harmful 'Wiros', a word applied by most of the Indo-European speaking peoples to denote men. (*) But as the term 'Indo-European' for the parent tongue as well as its speakers is open to the least objection, we shall use it in preference to others. (§)

Nothing definite is known about the earlier history of the Indo-Europeans. It is true that they have been supremely important, as their languages comprise three of the greatest literatures of the ancient world - Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. But these literatures, useful as they are to the students of comparative philology, religion and general ancient history, enter at a late date on the stage of history and cannot throw any light on the Indo-Europeans' ^{original} home or migrations. The question of their original home, in particular, which is very important for us in order to understand the origin of the Aryans who migrated into the Panjab, is one of the most knotty problems of ancient history. This has given rise to diverse theories, each claiming to contain a large measure of certainty. Speculation has, however, played a considerable part in the formulation of these theories; and this is but inevitable, when there exists a very scanty material to reconstruct the remote past.

previous Note continued:- both have been grievously injured."

(*) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter III.pp.65-67.

(§) There are still some languages in Europe which do not belong to this family. We, therefore, use the term on the understanding that such languages are excluded from its denotation.

Here again, the evidence of language comes to our help to some extent. The fact is that the Indo-European peoples, as they went round the world, have left some traces of their migrations, chiefly their language, behind them both in the east and the west, which enable us to attempt a reconstruction of Indo-European conditions on the basis of their language in various countries. Common names that denote objects known in certain lands, and may hence be thought to indicate the geographical and other physical conditions of the undivided home of the Indo-European family, are collected from the sister languages, and then a theory is based on the data so collected as to the home of the original people speaking those languages. For example, the occurrence of the name of the beech in several languages has been thought to prove that the Indo-Europeans originally lived in the area in which the beech grows, i.e. west of a line running from Königsberg to the Crimea and thence southwards through Anatolia. But this linguistic method does not seem to give a satisfactory answer to the problem, "for it is quite clear that a great mass of linguistic material dating from Indo-European times, has been lost in one language or another and can no longer be got at"; and even when they persist, words sometimes change their meanings. Our next possible source is prehistoric archaeology; but even here, owing to the absence of material, we are left sadly in the lurch. The excavations made during the last sixty years or so, to

name particularly those in Egypt, Crete and Western Asia, have indeed thrown a flood of light on the early history of various Indo-European speaking nations, but their original home still remains a mystery. A detailed account of some of these remarkable discoveries will be found below in connection with the prehistoric Indo-Iranians. The evidence supplied by language and archaeology has also received a further aid in determining the home from the study of comparative mythology, anthropology and geology; but, in spite of all this, the problem still awaits a right solution. Many theories have been advanced from time to time on the subject of the original cradle; (*) those which are seriously upheld deserve a mention here.

Various areas of Asia, such as the central region to the east of the Caspian Sea with the adjoining lands of Turkistan, the Pamirs, India, Western Siberia, the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Arctic region have been proposed. Of the Pamirs, India, Siberia, Mesopotamia and the Arctic areas little or nothing positive can be said. Migrations from the central area, usually known as Central Asia were assumed by the Asian theories to explain the separation of the Aryan branch from the rest of the Indo-Europeans. Central Asia was favoured by early scholars

(*) Excellent summaries of the theories are given in Sir A.B. Keith's Frazer Lectures, 1922-32, London, 1932. pp. 289-304, and J. Charpentier's article in B.S.O.S., Vol IV. Part I, 1926. pp. 147 ff. See also on this subject V.G. Childe, The Aryans, A study of Indo-European origins, 1926, Chapters V to VIII.

(*)

like Pott, Lassen and Grimm. Pictet, especially, who laid stress on the geographical distribution of Indo-European speaking peoples in historical times, argued in favour of this area as a central place from which the original speakers could be supposed to have migrated to all countries. He said that since Sanskrit and Avestic were more archaic in character as compared with Indo-European languages in Europe, such as Greek, Latin etc., and that since the languages in Asia deviated less from the original speech than their European sisters and conformed more to the original standard, the speakers of the Asiatic group must be regarded as situated round the region where the original standard was spoken. That region, in his opinion, could have been no other than Central Asia, for the greater the distance was, the greater would be the change in the language. This theory was popularised by the eminent orientalist Max Muller, who held fast to the belief that the original home must be found somewhere in Asia. The most promising evidence recently adduced in its favour is the presence of a centum variety of Indo-European speech namely Tokharian along with the satem languages in Asia. Nevertheless, the Central Asian theory, which seems to us

(*) Les origines Indo-Europeenes, or Les Aryas primitifs, Paris 1877, second edition.

(§) Max Muller. loc.cit.p.127. He wrote in 1887 that "if an answer must be given as to the place where our Aryan ancestors dwelt before the separation, whether in large swarms of millions, or in a few scattered tents and huts, I should still say, as I said forty years ago, 'Somewhere in Asia', and no more". Aryan here stands for Indo-Europeans.

the most satisfying, is looked upon with suspicion and disapproval by scholars that seek to locate the original habitat in Europe.

The earliest of the scholars who broached the idea of a European home was Dr R.G. Latham (*) in England as early as 1851. At first German scholars were content, like him, to place the cradle in Western Russia, but later on they shifted it to Germany. In defence of the European home it is generally asserted that, ethnically speaking, there is no trace of invasion of foreign blood into Europe, for a modern European ethnic type could be traced back to its ancestral type in the Neolithic age in Europe, and man has been found to exist in Europe from the earliest post-glacial period. Hence it is argued that the original speakers of Indo-European tongue were autochthones of Europe. But it is worthy of note that those who hold these views are not agreed in their opinion as to one particular area. Thus certain German scholars have proposed North Germany, or at least lands bordering on the Baltic, as having the best claim to be considered for the 'Urheimat' i.e. original home. The eastern branches of the Indo-Europeans, i.e. the Aryans of Iran and those of the Panjab, in that case, moved down by the Bosphorus through Asia Minor. The same view is favoured by Scandinavian scholars as well, who look for the

(*) Descriptive Ethnology, London, 1859, II p 5-3.

home not only in Germany but also on the Danish Islands and in the southernmost provinces of Sweden.

One of the several attempts made to locate the 'Urheimat' is based on the fact that since the undivided speakers of the parent tongue had common names for snow, they had originally come from North Europe, somewhere in Germany. (*) But such a conclusion on the basis of a common term for snow is absurd, for snow taken singly cannot decide the home of the Indo-Europeans, it being not found in one part of the world only. The cold region of Germany is not the only cold region in this world. Another attempt was made at the time when it was suggested on anthropological grounds (§) that the tall, blue-eyed, fair-skinned Germans with long heads were the only genuine Indo-Germanic people, i.e. Indo-Europeans by blood, and the latter therefore had originated in Germany. (o) Since then it has been customary with German scholars "to try to identify Teutons - as described by Tacitus - with Indo-Europeans". "In this connection", as observed by J. Charpentier, "one seems totally to have forgotten the otherwise obvious fact that the description given by Tacitus is very strongly idealized in order to put up the life of the Teutons as a standard to his demoralized countrymen". Moreover, the evidence, adduced in support of

(*) Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur, p.113-150.

(§) Poesche, Die Arier, 1878.

(o) See in this connection Houston Chamberlain, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. Eng.trans. John Lees, 2 vols, London, 1911.

the physical features which some anthropologists and Tacitus describe as belonging to the Teutons or Germans of the first century A.D., is fanciful. In fact we cannot tell whether they were long-headed or short-headed, tall or short-sized, brunette or fair. (*) Present-day Germany can no more boast of containing a pure race within its frontiers than most of the other European states. At least two main races - the long-headed population of North Germany, Nordics, and the broad-headed one of South Germany, Proto-Nordics, which also are found outside it, - have been discovered in Germany by anthropologists, while other races are believed by them to have entered in prehistoric times into the composition of the German population. (§) It is quite possible, as argued by Dr S. Feist, (o) that the Germans, though they learned an Indo-European dialect, did not belong to any of the Indo-European original stocks. Notwithstanding, it has long been and is still an almost common opinion among German scholars (x) that the Germans are 'Aryans' (used for Indo-Europeans).

(*) For criticism of this impossible hypothesis of a North European home see de Morgan, La Prehistoire Orientale, I, pp.191 ff.

(§) A.C.Haddon, loc.cit. pp. 70-71.

(o) Indogermanen und Germanen, Halle, 1914, p

(x) Read K.Penka, Origines Ariaceae, Wien, 1883 and also Die Herkunft der Arier, Wien, 1886.

The present German Chancellor Herr Hitler's theory of Aryan-Nordic equation (given in his "Mein Kampf" My Struggle), largely wrong and unhistoric, but fanatically believed in, is also borrowed from German scholars. He has applied it to his foreign policy, as it serves the purpose and aims of his Nazi government.

Another hypothesis which was once advanced by earlier scholars is advocated by Dr. Giles. (*) He places the home of the Indo-Europeans, whom he is the first to name 'Wiros', in a region which we now know as Hungary, Austria and Bohemia, that is to say, in the plain of the middle Danube valley, "bounded on its eastern side by the Carpathians, on its south by the Balkans, on its western side by the Austrian Alps and the Böhmer Wald, and on the north by the Erzgebirge and the mountains which link them up with the Carpathians." The Indo-European tribes migrating to Asia crossed the Bosphorus or Dardanelles and moved through Asia Minor along the south coast of the Black Sea. From there it was that they, avoiding the old civilisation of Mesopotamia, followed the track along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, now marked by Teharan, Mashad and Herat, thus overflowing into Iran and Bactria and also into the Indus valley through the Hindu Kush.

In the opinion of Dr. Giles Austro-Hungary is the only one area which can satisfactorily fulfil all the conditions of the Indo-European flora and fauna, such as birch, beech, willow, fir tree, corn like barley, ox, cow, sheep, dog, pig, horse (but not ass, camel or elephant), wolf, bear, goose, duck, eagle, as also temperate climate, as is shown by the nature of the flora. So all places suggested by other scholars, whether in Asia or Europe, are ruled out by him. He further states that of the Indo-European tribes

(*) Cambridge History of India, vol.I. Chap.III.pp.65 ff;
Cambridge Ancient History, vol.II.p.28 f.; also Dr.Giles' articles in Enclopaedia Britannica, Eleveneth Edition, on Aryans in vol.II and on Indo-European Languages in vol XIV.

who marched towards the east and ultimately settled in Iran and the Panjab, history has as yet nothing to say. But that they remained united and undivided in the course of their march in Asia Minor is shown by the Boghaz-köi inscriptions, which contain the names of the deities Indra, Varuna, Mitra and the Nāsatya twins, practically in the form in which they survive in the Rgveda and without the phonetic changes which characterise the ancient records of the Iranians - the Avesta and Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings. The explanation of this given by Dr. Giles is that these deities belong to the Aryans at a period before their differentiation; for he says, "Here, far to the west, we have stumbled upon the Aryans on the move towards the east (the Panjab)."

Dr. Giles' argument founded on common names for plants, trees, animals and other objects found in Europe, is based on false premises. A close study of some of the names will show that the objects supposed to have been known to the Indo-European people and the physical conditions of their home may fit in exactly with other parts of the world. For example, the birch, the bear, names of which occur in the Indo-European languages, are found not only in Europe, but in the north of India too. About the beech, in particular, it may be remarked that linguistically there is no certainty whatever that a name of the beech is Indo-European. The

legitimate inference so far is that the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans and Teutons who spoke that language did not even know the beech. And to trace, as does Dr. Giles, the line of the Indo-European migration eastward from the inscriptions referred to above would be a fallacy. These may very well relate to a period when the Aryan tribes were probably moving from the east rather than from the west, as will be shown[^] below. "The Anatolian passage", moreover, as is pointed out by H. Peake, ^(*) "was by no means an easy route to the east, for had the Wiros kept to the north they would have found difficulty in crossing the Armenian mountains; further south they would have come into contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia."

The southern steppes of Russia on the northern shores of the Black Sea is still another locality in Europe where the Indo-European ancestors are supposed to have had their original abode. On this hypothesis, the Indo-Iranians or Aryans found their way into Asia by the north of the Black Sea; and either they came round the north of the Caspian or through the Caucasus, which is difficult, though not impassable. Prof. Otto Schrader was the first to advocate this theory already suggested by Latham and Benfey. From his wide knowledge of languages he constructed the history of the culture that could be ascribed to the primitive Indo-Europeans, and then tried to establish that the physical

(*) The Bronze Age and the Celtic World, 1922, p.142.

geography of the South Russian steppes well satisfied all the requirements of the hypothetical culture explored. (*) But it seems he was not quite averse to the idea that the Indo-Europeans might at one time have been living in an area to the east of South Russia, which practically meant the neighbourhood of Central Asia. (§)

The greatest support, however, to the South Russian hypothesis has been given by the theory of H. Peake, followed by V.G. Childe. Both these scholars have identified the Indo-Europeans with the people made known to us by graves containing contracted skeletons, covered with red ochre, under a mound or Kurgan. These people, it is stated, were nomadic, for they domesticated, horses, cattle and perhaps sheep, and were generally tall, long-headed, and fine-nosed, that is, of the Nordic or proto-Nordic racial type. Their remains point to a uniform culture, including language; and the uniformity in their mode of disposal of the dead attests community of religious belief. The area

(*) O. Schrader, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde. Eng.trans. by Jevons: Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, London, 1890, Chap.XIV. Also his article on Aryan Religion in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion etc. Schrader is practically supported by H. Hirt in this hypothesis, for which read Die Indogermanische, ihre verbreitung, ihre Urheimat, und ihre Kultur, 1905u. 1907.

(§) Criticising the Russian Steppe-cradle, Dr.Giles tells us that this region has not on the whole the characteristics required by the conclusions drawn from linguistic data. In contradistinction to views held by certain philologists and anthropologists that the original Wiros were nomad herdsmen, he believes they were settled agriculturists. (Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 69).

in which these remains are found stretches from the Caspian Sea to the Dnieper. (*) This hypothesis, however, involves the assumption that the ochre-grave civilization is Indo-European, whereas nothing that is known to us of the primitive Indo-European religion "accords with the practice of the authors of the ochre-grave civilization of burying their dead in a contracted position and covering them with red-ochre."

Though it must be admitted that nothing definite can be proved with the help of our present means of investigation, yet on the whole we see that the arguments in support of the European home are far from convincing. It hardly seems likely that the Indo-Europeans came to Asia from Europe; there is practically no trace of their early migration into the Near East. Even the Nesian language, an early Indo-European tongue found in texts of the Hittites in Asia Minor, may represent elements left there by an ancient parent tribe migrating westwards. Nor does the abundant archaeological evidence about prehistoric centres of culture in Europe, that has been collected, support the scholars who seek to locate the original home on that continent. As a matter of fact "until we can say of a given culture, such as a neolithic settlement in Denmark or an

(*) H. Peake, The Bronze Age and the Celtic World, 1922, pp.140-1; V.G. Childe, loc.cit. Chap. VIII.

aenolithic culture on the Danube, and decide whether it is pre Indo-Germanic or a non-Indo-Germanic group, our conclusions about the primitive Indo-European movements will always be resting on more or less unproved hypothesis." (*)

On the other hand, from the evidence available to us on this subject, it seems preferable to suppose that the Indo-Europeans originated in Central Asia, and thence spread westwards towards Europe, as well as towards Iran and India. Central Asia, to use that term in its widest sense, is a region that has signified much in many issues of the general history of mankind. Its original contribution to cultural history has been far-reaching. Still more important has been the role that it has played in the transmission of culture-traits from one part of the old world to the other. It is wrong to think that the inhabitants of Central Asia in ancient times were barbaric. The fact that at an early date several ^{14x}Saka tribes, which belonged to the Iranian stock, (§) were found somewhere in that region

(*) I.H.Q., June, 1929, p.251.

(§) The Sakas are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius. In his days they were his subjects living 'beyond Sugd'-para Sugdam, i.e. the country in the east of the Persian Empire along the Jaxartes, whatever its extent. Sten Konow believes that the Sakas were Iranians, and the Yue-chis i.e. the Kushans who established a large Empire at Peshawar in the Indus valley, were Sakas also. The history of the Kushans is of utmost importance to us, for they became very powerful and made the Panjab a sovereign state in the early centuries of the Christian era. (Sten Konow, C.I.I., Vol II. Part I, 1929, pp. xxvii-xxviii and lxi-lxii).

seems to show the error of this assumption. Recent archaeological work has also brought to light the fact that the ancient inhabitants of Central Asia had developed a high artistic tradition and that this early central Asiatic art exerted a measurable influence upon the artistic development of Europe on one side and upon China and the Far East on the other. (*)

But the most important fact establishing the central Asian theory, as already remarked above, is the former existence of a hitherto unknown Indo-European language, usually designated Tokharian, between Kucha and Turfan, north of Lob Nor in Chinese Turkistan. Unlike any of the other Asiatic languages, which are of the satem-type, it is a centum-language, more nearly related to the centum-group of Indo-European languages found in Europe. (§) This language has been considered by a good many scholars a survival of

(*) See in this connection Sir A. Stein's Innermost Asia, Oxford, 1928, On Ancient Central Asian Tracks, London, 1933, Serindia, Oxford, 1921.

(§) For the whole problem of Tokharian see Prof. H.W. Bailey, B.S.O.S., VIII, 1936, pp. 883 ff; P. Pelliot, J.A., 224, 1934, pp. 23 ff; S. Levi, J.A. 1933, pp. 1 ff; Sten Konow, C.I.I., Vol. II, Part I, 1929, pp. lvii ff and J.I.H. XII, 1903, p. 7f. Today this language is no longer called Tokharian. It is found written on documents, recently brought to light by explorations in Chinese Turkistan. Its two forms called Dialects A and B were the language of two states in the northern parts of Chinese Turkistan, A of Agni-Karachar (with Turfan) and B of Kucha. The former was used in Buddhist texts, and the latter was the language of administration in the eighth century A.D.

the Indo-European, not Aryan, people who remained in Asia near their original home. This is not all; Nesian too, known to us from inscriptions of the Hittites, is a centum variety of Indo-European, and may be regarded as being, like Tokharian, a representative survival of Indo-European in Asia. In view of these two centum-languages, which are apparently natives of Asia, to assume wanderings of the Indo-Europeans from Europe to the Chinese border in a pre-historic or historic period does not seem to be reasonable. If then we would strike a balance between the rival claims, we see that the evidence, though mainly indecisive, inclines slightly in favour of the Central Asian home.

The recent high authorities upholding the theory of a Central Asian home are the great historian, Prof. E. Meyer, the recognised philologist, Dr. S. Feist and the eminent Sanskritist, Prof. Jarl Charpentier. To these names may be added that of Sir A.B. Keith, author of several valuable works on Indo-European prehistory; he has thoroughly examined all the existing theories, and feels convinced that the home of the people who spoke the Indo-European tongue is to be looked for in Central Asia and not at all in Europe. We shall close this topic by giving a quotation from Prof. Charpentier's article ^{cited} quoted above. In his opinion "the home of the Indo-Europeans was in Asia, and in that part of the vast continent where were found wide

grasslands on which to roam about with their herds of cattle and horses; where the climate was a temperate, or, at times, a cold one, and where were found the animals usual in such a zone and among trees the birch, the willow and the fir tree. No part of Asia answers quite to this description except the regions to the east of the Caspian Sea, which are generally called Central Asia, with the neighbouring plains of Turkestan, where formerly conditions of living were easier than now-a-days." It is, he adds, from these parts that streams of Indo-European movement started and flowed towards the west, south and south-west.

If therefore, as seems very likely, the centre of the Indo-European peoples lay in Central Asia, the movements towards the south and south-west were taken by the Aryans. (*) That the plain of the Oxus, i.e. the country from which the Aryans set out on their conquests at different intervals, was at one time their common habitat is supported by the history of early Iran, according to which the most ancient period of Iranian movements was over before the conquest and occupation of the Medo-Persian territory in the west, and also by the clear Avestic tradition, which calls the original Iranian home

(*) Migrations towards the west probably went both north and south of the Caspian Sea into Europe. Sir A.B. Keith says, "When we have to explain the present distribution of racial types in Europe, the theory which best fits the facts known to us is that which assumes that the Caucasian colonization of Europe was effected from Asia, and that before the westward migratory movement began the Caucasian stock in Western Asia was already arranged, as now in Europe, in a triple zone from south to north." (Frazer Lectures, p.301).

Airyanam Vaejah (Eramvej). The latter has recently been identified with Chorasmla^(*) (Khwarism), i.e. Khiva, the fertile country south of the Aral Sea on the lower Oxus. History is so far altogether silent in regard to the earliest migrations of the Aryan tribes which ultimately pushed both westwards and southwards.

However, the earliest traces of Aryan language and religion may perhaps be found in the names of the princes and divinities of the Kassites who became masters of Babylonia for five hundred years from circa 1746-1180 B.C. The fact that the names of some of their rulers seem to contain elements of Aryan divinities such as Shurias, Indash, Maruttash and Bugash, which look like the Indian Sūrya, Indra, Marut and Bhaga (Iranian Baga), suggests that a branch of the Aryans had migrated towards the west, probably through Iran, at an early date, and founded a ruling dynasty among the Kassites in Babylonia, or that perhaps the Kassite invasion of Babylon itself was due to

(*) Chorasmla was the country of the people Chorasmlī, whom Ptolemy (vi, 12, 4) puts Khvairizam on the Oxus; and (H)uvarazmis of the Old Persian inscriptions and Khvāirizam of the Mihr Yast (Yt.X.14) implies the same. Cf. E. Benveniste, B.S.O.S., VII, 1934.

the presence of an Aryan tribe and its leaders were actually Aryan princes. (*) Another reference to Aryan influence is to be found in the famous letters of the fifteenth century B.C., discovered from Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt. These letters throw a flood of light on the affairs of Western Asia, for example, the political and marital relations between the Mitanni princes and the Egyptian Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. In these letters some princes of the people of Mitanni ruling in Syria are mentioned with names of Aryan forms, (§) such as Artatama, Dushratta, Shutarna and Suwardatta.

(*) The hegemony of Babylon fell about the eighteenth century B.C., and the Kassites from Media established a dynasty at Babylon about 1746 B.C. The Kassites themselves were not Aryan (Cambridge History of India, p.76), nor Indo-European as Peake identified (loc.cit. p.74). Since the Kassite names for god, star, heaven, fort, etc as recorded do not reveal any Aryan elements, it is doubted that they were Aryans. For a full account of the Kassites see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1929, 14th edition, under Babylonia and Assyria, also under Kassites; Cambridge History of Early Iran, Chicago, 1936, pp. 89-95.

(§) The Mitanni were established in Syria (north-west of Mesopotamia). In regard to their racial identity it is doubtful, as in the case of the Kassites, whether they were Aryan. What is however universally accepted is that there was a ruling class among the Mitanni who called themselves Maryani and that the Maryani was probably a conquering aristocracy who spoke an Aryan dialect. For a full account of the Mitanni see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1929, under Hittites; Cameron, loc. cit. pp.139 f; Cambridge History of India, p.76; Prof. A.B. Keith in Commemorative Essays presented to Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Poona, 1917, pp.83-85. Peake (loc. cit. p.75) takes the Mitanni to be a branch of the Indo-European stock.

But the most remarkable historical trace of the Aryan migration towards the west is found in the important documents^(*) unearthed at Boghaz-Koi in Asia Minor, which have been dated between 1395-1355 B.C., that is, of the same period as the Tell-el-Amarna letters. Some of the facts furnished by these documents are that the Mitanni worshipped a number of gods, ten Babylonian and four native Mitannian, the latter including Mitra (Indian Mitra, Iranian Mithra), Uruvna or Aruna (Indian Varuna), Indara (Indian Indra), and Nashaattiia (Indian Nāsatya, Iranian Naorihaitya); that Dushratta or Tushratta, king of the Mitanni, was done to death by one of his sons and thereupon the Mitanni declined; that there was a treaty made between Mattiawaza, a son of the late Mitanni king, and Shuppiluliuma, the king of the Hittites, who restored Mattiawaza to the Mitanni kingdom and gave him his daughter, allowing his son-in-law freedom to take as many concubines as possible but reserve for his daughter the position of chief queen, while the right to the succession was reserved for the child of his wife; and that the treaty invoked as guarantors of the agreement the above Mitannian gods on behalf of the Mitanni party to the treaty.^(§) Further, among these inscriptions found at

(*) These documents were discovered in 1906 by Hugo Winckler, who published a summary of his findings in M.D.O.C. No.35, 1907 and again in O.L.Z. in 1910 and 1916.

(§) For an account of the treaty see Luckenbill, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, 1921, Vol. XXXVII. Cf. Cambridge History of India, pp. 72 ff. The interesting documents recording the marriage treaty consists of 512 lines. It remains yet undeciphered excepting the seven lines which are written in Babylonian
(continued)

Boghaz-koi is the copy of a work by an author named Kikkuli, dealing with the profession of horse-breeding and racing. This was in the hands of a certain Indo-European ruling tribe known as the Nesas or Kanésas, who spoke a centum variety of Indo-European, as is clear from the structure and grammar of the language in this work. (§) The numerals, along with technical terms used in the text, turn out to be Aryan, e.g. aika, tera, panza, satta, nāva, vartanna.

To a much later period belongs a list of deities worshipped in foreign cities and countries under the Assyrian Empire, which was found on a tablet in a regular library belonging to king Ashur-bani-pal (669-626 B.C.) (o)

(Note continued)

Cuneiform. This strange script has not yet been deciphered. As regards the Hittites referred to above, they did not belong to the Aryan group of tribes; they seem to have contained diverse sections racially different among them. One section of these people, known as the Nesas or Kanésas, the ruling tribe in the Hittite Empire, was decidedly Indo-European (E. Forrer, Z.D.M.G., lxxvi, pp.250 ff). For a full account of the Hittites read Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1929, under Hittites.

(§) E. Forrer, Z.D.M.G., quoted above p. n.

Cf. B.K. Ghose, Linguistic Introduction of Sanskrit.

(o) The great majority of the religious texts in this library were copied from Babylonian originals, often of great antiquity, but closer examination of the tablet proves that the text is Assyrian and not Babylonian. (Hommel, P.S.B.A., XXI, 1899, pp. 127, 137 ff; Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies, 1928, pp. 39, 204).

The list includes the name Assara Mazāsh, who is possibly identical with the Zoroastrian god Ahura-Mazda, though the form Assara is nearer Vedic Asura than Avestic Ahura. This form indicates either that it was adopted by a tribe retaining intervocalic s, or else, which is more likely, that it had been introduced into Assyria at some unknown time previously.^(*)

The names of deities and princes, as also numerals, that have been mentioned above are perhaps the oldest recorded specimens of any Aryan speech which we possess so far. But they deserve special attention owing to the fact that an effort is sometimes made to represent them as specifically Indian; especially the passage of the treaty relating to the four deities of the Mitanni is quoted to show that the Rgvedic pantheon was known in Western Asia as early as the fourteenth century B.C., and that these deities were borrowed from the hymns of the Rgveda.^(§) Jacobi was the first to declare the deities in question Indian after they were published in 1907 by Hugo Winckler, and recently H. Sayce has postulated a similar view.^(x) But

(*) Prof. Keith, following H.M. Chadwick and F.W. Thomas, does not accept "the derivation either of Assur from Asura or of Asura from Assur. There is no identity of character in the two conceptions, and the similarity of name is far from close." (*Commem. Essays*, p.88).

(§) *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 721 ff.

(x) *Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 403-406.

their arguments have generally been regarded as improbable by the scholars who have made a special study of all these forms. (*) It is true they are very nearly pure Indo-Aryan; certainly they are much more nearly akin to Vedic than to any of the Iranian dialects. Nevertheless they must belong to the Aryan period proper before Indian and Iranian were differentiated. The other words which have come to light in Western Asia correspond neither to Rgvedic nor to Avestic; allowing for the distortion of transcription, they are compatible with Aryan. Their language unmistakably appears to be an Aryan dialect, as it differs both from Vedic and Avestic; unlike the former it has Arta- for Rta, while unlike the latter it retains a sound between vowels in Nashaattiia. Another fact worthy of note is to find the important and prominent god Agni, who is specifically Rgvedic, (§) omitted in the Boghazkoi treaty. Moreover the four gods of the Mitanni alleged to be Rgvedic were known to the Avesta as well. Finally, if the gods came from India directly or through Iran, we ought to find in Western Asia early traces of Aryan population, but this is very far from being the case. On the contrary, that area seems to have had a distinctly non-Aryan Asianic population.

(*) La Vallée-Poussin has discussed the controversy at length, and does not agree with Jacobi and his partizans that the gods came out of India, and that they are Indian. He denies the Indian hypothesis and calls it a 'misty fantasy'. His belief is that the gods came from Europe, that their forms are Indo-Iranian and that the Mitanni were probably a part of the Indo-European people advancing eastwards who had been left on the way. (loc.cit., pp.80-84).

(§) Nearly two hundred hymns have been addressed to Agni, the largest number, two hundred and fifty, being devoted to god Indra.

We must therefore, be satisfied with the safe and reasonable conclusion that the names of these gods and other numerous words found in the ancient records of Western Asia and which have linguistic kinship with Vedic as well as Avestic come from a common source, Aryan, that is to say, these common elements belonged to the undivided Indo-Iranians, prior to their separation as Indians and Iranians. On this point let us quote a passage from Prof. Keith's Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, where he is discussing the numerals and gods in question - "What is clear is that the numerals are by no means Vedic and that they can be set down as Aryan with equal plausibility. We are, therefore, still left without any definite evidence to aid us in dating the distinction of Aryan into Iranian and Indian, and we should probably revise our conception of this division. In an area of considerable extent over which Aryan was spoken we may assume dialectical differences sprang up, accelerated in development by contact with different racial elements, and the fragments of Mitanni speech akin to Aryan found of late represent developments of what may conveniently be called, not either Iranian or Indian. This natural hypothesis removes the need of imagining movements back from India to the West, while the possession of some gods in common well accords with the Aryan character of the speech". (*)

(*) P. 617. Yet Jacobi is followed by Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 1922, Oxford, p.300), relying on the Purānas, which are quite untrustworthy in their traditions about the origins of ancient dynasties, as well as by certain scholars in India, e.g. Dr. Sarup (J.P.U.His.Soc., Vol V, 1938, pp.59-69), points out his alternative hypotheses on the (continued)

The evidence thus obtained from Western Asia is undoubtedly very interesting, for we know that some Aryan tribes were once moving to and fro about Asia Minor during the second and first millennia B.C., and that some at least settled down to found monarchies in various regions. It is also clear that their subjects were non-Aryan Asians like the Kassites and Mitanni. The rulers themselves had adopted the native language and the Babylonian script for their official correspondence, and apparently acknowledged the local gods besides their own. The next evidence as to migration of the Aryans, akin to those we meet in Western Asia among the Kassites and Mitanni, is supplied by sacred books of the Aryans in India and in Iran. Unfortunately archaeology has up to the present failed to throw any light on their early history. As explained above in connection with the Aryan sub-family in the Indo-European family of languages, there is a very close relation between Vedic Sanskrit and Avestan in their earliest forms. This resemblance could not be a mere accident; rather it was due to a common origin as well as a close contact in the remote past, which is manifested by the Rgveda and the Avesta, both showing nearer and closer affinity in culture in general with one another than with the cultures of any other Aryan or Indo-European peoples.

Note continued) question: these gods (i) were borrowed from India through Persia or (ii) migrated direct from India to Asia Minor, and accepts the latter; but he has not considered the third hypothesis which appears to be highly probable, that is, these gods were introduced into Asia Minor by a branch of the undivided Aryans migrating westwards like other branches going to India and Iran.

The Indo-Iranian culture, especially the religion, can thus be studied in its Indian aspect in the Rgveda and in its Iranian aspect in the Avesta. It appears that there ^{was} are at first no great difference between the two branches of the Aryans in respect of language, customs, religion and mythology. Both alike worshipped the great powers of Light and Good - 'Devas', shining ones - which to them were the visible signs of Universal Divinity, namely, Varuna, the shining vault of Heaven; Mitra, the friendly light of the Sun; Vāyu, the wind that drives away the storms and makes bright the face of Heaven; Yama, the primeval man that reigns over the blessed souls in Paradise; Indra, the victorious slayer of Vrtra, Vrtraghna or Vrtrahan. Both alike observed the set of religious rites, as is evident from the Soma sacrifice of the Rgveda and Haoma of the Avesta, and composed hymns to the Devas, which were chanted to the accompaniment of music and ceremonial. Their greatest ethical conception was expressed by their common discovery of the Divine or World Order, i.e., Moral Law (Rta), ^(§) which was in the keeping of Varuna and Mitra. In society also both branches of the Aryans recognised class distinctions based on occupations: but these divisions were not so rigid as to form a system of caste such as arose later in India.

(*) See Bloomfield, Religion of the Veda, 1908, Third Lecture, pp. 117-149.

(§) The Vedic Rta corresponds to the word Asa in the Avesta and Arta in Old Persian. The word Rta and Asa has almost the same connotation as Cosmic or World Order in these sacred books.

Later on, however, as time went by, the two branches, when they had settled in their new homes, India and Iran, developed respective cultures independently, and, as is natural with civilised peoples, their religion became different in course of time. It is quite possible that the developments had begun partly in the period of the united Aryans, and gradually increased until in Iran the divergence became very marked. In the Avesta we find some of the old Aryan Devas, who were popular with the Vedic Aryans and the Mitanni, have become spirits of Evil. For example, Indra and the Nāsatyā have been relegated there to the armies of Evil, with whom the virtuous men must fight. It is sometimes suggested that the separation of the Aryans who came into the Panjab and those who went to Iran was the result of religious schism. Such a suggestion, however, cannot be accepted, for we know the most ancient parts of the Avesta, the Gāthās, represent a later stage, when there had been a reformation due to a difference of religious outlook in Iran. What seems probable is that when the Aryans marched into the Panjab and Iran, they had essentially the same religion, though varying in detail among different tribes, viz., a worship of Devas (gods of Light) and goddesses, of whom the chief powers were Varuna, Mitra and Indra. Then at some time after this migration the revolution took place in Iran. The worship of the great Asura Varuna was raised to special prominence with the result that Asura Varuna became the 'supreme wise lord', Ahura Mazda, invested with sublime majesty as the guardian of Asa or Rta,

and with him were associated the Amesha Spentas, who may have been a form of the old Adityas. (*) Only a few minor gods were admitted in this company, and the term Deva, which hitherto had been applied by the united Aryans to all gods, was now used to denote only the powers of Evil, the Rakshas or Rakshasa, known and feared previously by the ancient Aryans. (§) This movement in Iran had the effect of creating a strong dualism - opposition between the powers of Light, headed by Ahura Mazda, the good spirit, and the powers of Darkness, headed by Añro Mainyu, the Evil spirit. (o) India, on the other hand, maintained the older Aryan worship for many years, reserving the term 'Deva' for the powers of

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- (*) The word Aditya meant originally "of yore" according to Bloomfield. The term is applied in the Rgveda to a set of gods the most substantial members of which seem to be prehistoric Aryan.
- (§) This reform in the old form of religion is explained as the work of the Prophet Zoroaster (Zarathustra). His home is not definitely known, but the people among whom he preached must at all events be regarded as an eastern tribe of the Iranians. The date also at which he lived is not yet determined; scholars propose different dates ranging from the tenth century to the sixth century B.C., though there are traditions assigning him to 5000 B.C. (See in this connection E. Meyer, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1929, XXI, p.205; Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, p.31; S.B.E. (Pahlavi Texts), V, 1880, p.150f, Jackson, Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran, New York 1901, pp.157-165. J.Hertel: Achaemeniden und Kayaniden (Leipzig 1924) (Indo-iranische Quellen und Forschungen V.)
- (o) The later parts of the Avesta, which are believed to have been compiled in the second or third centuries A.D., contain many ideas, phrases, and even devotional matter that have survived from the early cults of Indo-Iranian unity, side by side with elements a thousand years more recent.

Light and Good and still designating the powers of Evil by the term 'Rakehas' or 'Rākshasa'. The only important change took place there in the later Vedic times, when the term 'Asura', hitherto applied to certain of the great ancient gods, was definitely transferred to the powers of Evil. The reasons for this transfer are of course obscure, but one of them may have been the fact that Varuna subsequently lost favour with the Indo-Aryans because of his attributes of stern retributive justice, and later becoming associates with the darkness of night, was finally relegated to the rank of deity of the Ocean. Thus the epithet Asura lost its association with gods generally recognised as good.

Now all this is very significant and brings us face to face to the fact that the history of the Panjab does not really start from the time when the Rgveda was composed, but much earlier. Thus we can say for certain that the Indo-Aryans and Iranians lived together for a long period at a remote time and in one area, whence they migrated to the south and the west, and that there was an invasion of the Panjab by these Aryans from outside. (*) It may be pointed out here that this invasion was no mere incursion of armies, but was a gradual progressive movement of whole tribes,

(*) A.C. Das (Rgvedic India, Calcutta, 1921 and Rgvedic Culture, 1925, Introduction) thinks that the Aryans were autochthones of the Panjab (Sapta Sindhu) and some of them who had religious differences with their brethren went out of the Panjab and settled in Iran. But his conclusions are based on no evidence worthy of the name.

probably with their women and children, which consequently exercised permanent influence on the racial conditions of India and in particular, on those of the Panjab.

The Rgveda, however, does not contain a single allusion to their migration. As a matter of fact the hymns of the Veda on the whole reveal the country as regularly occupied during the period of their composition - enjoying peace and prosperity and not overrun by invaders. Yet, happily, there are some geographical data, to be noticed presently in detail, which indicate familiarity on the part of the Aryan immigrants with a considerable portion of the borderland along the present North-West Frontier, and which suggests that a movement took place in a remote past time from the west to the east long before the Aryans occupied and settled in the Panjab. Moreover, in connection with the Aryan advance from the west, let us not fail to note one or two further indications. The Avesta refers to the river Harahvaitī, the present Arghandāb, the Arachotos of the Greeks. This tributary of the Helmand gave its Old Persian name to the fertile tract of Kandahār through which it flows, and the Greeks accordingly called it Arachosia. Harahvaitī is the exact equivalent of the Vedic river name Sarasvatī, which prominently figures in the Rgvedic hymns, with that regular phonetic change of 's' into 'h' which distinguishes the Avestic

languages from Vedic Sanskrit. (*) Apparently we have here a case of that transfer of river names, which has been very common in the topography of India all through the ages. Secondly, the advance from the west is mirrored in the different divisions and names of the seasons of the year in comparatively recent periods of Aryan life in India. It is pointed out that the Indo-Europeans had three seasons - winter, autumn and summer, but that there was a steady increase in the number of the seasons on Indian soil, for the original division of the year into three parts in Vedic times, as reflected in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa^(§), finally became a division into six seasons, namely, Varsha (rainy season), Śarad (autumn), Hemanta (mild winter), Śisira (winter), Vasanta (spring) and Grīshma (summer).

So the weight of all evidence available compels us to regard the earliest Aryans as pre-Vedic and as having come from the west. The route of migration to the Panjab, it may then be said, led by way of the open passes on the line of Herat to the valleys of Arachosia, from which they were perhaps forced by the pressure of succeeding tribes to move upwards into the Kabul valley and through the Kurram, Gomal

(*) Whether any of the passages in the Rgveda naming the Sarasvatī actually refers to the Iranian Harahvaitī (Arghandāb), as has been supposed by some scholars like Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie*, I. pp. 107 ff. 1891-92) is doubtful. That the Sarasvatī of certain passages does refer to the Indus is certain. (Cf. Yajurveda, Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, xxxiv, 2 - Pancha nadyah Sarasvatīm apiyanti etc. Also La Vallée-Poussin, loc. cit. p. 210).

(§) Tryo na rtavah samvatsarasya Each veda has a Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas which are supplementary texts, liturgical and exegetical in character. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa belongs to the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda.

and Bolan passes into the fertile plains of the Indus and its affluents; there are obvious indications of these and other passes in the hymns of the Rgveda. If we consider the whole borderland stretching from the Hindu Kush Range in its widest sense in the north down to the Arabian Sea, we must realise that there is no other portion of it offering better facilities for a gradual advance of large bodies of men, horses and cattle, than the line leading down to the Bolan Pass. But another route of migration through the passes of the Hindu Kush Range cannot be ruled out altogether. A group of rivers mentioned in the Rgveda comprises a reference to some definite rivers, representing in each case the valley drainage of their several passes downwards^(*). Obviously those who recorded these rivers used the corresponding passes practically, and perhaps even dwelt from time to time during their tribal migrations amid the surrounding valleys. But that the penetration from this side must have been limited is evident from the difficult and rather impassable nature of the lofty Hindu Kush.

The question now is, when did the migration of the Aryans take place? We are so far without any definite evidence to aid us in dating the separation of the Aryans into Iranians and Indo-Aryans. If that were known, it would have been helpful to us in fixing definitely the period of

(*) See below p.

(*)

Aryan migration into the Panjab. At present we have mainly to rely on the indirect evidence from Vedic language and literature and prehistoric archaeology, i.e., remains of Chalcolithic culture obtained from the sites in the Panjab and Sind. It is not correct, as shown above, to regard the inscriptions discovered at Boghaz-köi in Asia Minor, and the Tell-el-Amarna letters from Egypt, as representing the intermediate stage in the Aryan advance towards India from their earlier home in Europe, and then to use them as evidence throwing light on the date of the Aryan migration. Nor would it be right to think of the Aryans as having come into Western Asia from India, and then reckon the inscriptions as a strong support for an early dating of the Aryans in the Panjab. These documents, properly speaking, cannot help us in fixing thus the date of the Indo-Aryans. They rather disclose traces of migration of an independent Aryan tribe or tribes with Indo-Aryan affinities into Western Asia in the second millennium B.C., and the names of the gods worshipped by these Aryan immigrants to the West we meet subsequently in India; that is all.

(*) The scholars who believe Central Asia to be the home of the Indo-Europeans argue, on the evidence of the tablets of Kikkuli of Mitannu, dealing with horse-breeding and racing, already referred to, that as the horse was probably introduced into Western Asia by a tribe of the Aryans about 2000 B.C. or slightly earlier, it seems a legitimate inference that the other Aryan tribes perhaps invaded the Oxus valley about the third millennium B.C., and that the Indo-Aryans may have separated somewhere after 2500 B.C. But this remains a supposition, and no decisive proof has been offered for it.

Scholars have given various estimates of the migration-period of the Indo-Aryans on the strength of Vedic language and literature. One of them is c 1500 - 1200 B.C., which is regarded by some as very probable, having regard to the following arguments:

(i) The linguistic development from the earliest preserved form of the Vedic language as found in the Rgveda, to the Classical Sanskrit as preserved in Pāṇini's work, the Ashtādhyāyī, or to the dialects used in Aśoka's inscriptions of about 250 B.C., could not take more than a millennium, according to some philologists. It would follow from their view that the migration of the Aryans could not have been before 1500 B.C.

(ii) A series of literary monuments, the Vedic Samhitas (Rgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda), and other Vedic texts - the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads and the Sūtras - have long been known as produced in India after the time of the Aryan migration. Buddhism and Jainism, which spread in India about 500 B.C. and which arose out of the doctrines of transmigration and spiritualism elaborated by the teachers of the Upanishads, presuppose not only the existence of the Vedic hymns but the whole Vedic literature, including even the Sūtras, which existed in many recensions before 500 B.C., though the youngest in age among them is said to be older than the third century B.C. Then, reckoning backwards from

500 B.C., when the real Vedic literary period was concluded, to the oldest hymn-text of the Rgveda; (*) the period that must have taken for the growth and development of this vast and varied literature, it is calculated the migration could not have taken place earlier than 1300 or 1500 B.C. In this connection, omitting reference to older views, we may give only the views held by two recent authorities:

Prof. A. Macdonell thinks that when it is assumed that the Brāhmaṇa period begins somewhere about 800 B.C., three or at the most five centuries are 'amply sufficient' for the gradual changes, linguistic, social and political, which the hymn-literature reveals. Hence by implication, any Rgvedic hymn older than about 1300 B.C. is highly improbable. He also arrived at the same conclusion by a comparison of the language of the Rgveda with that of the Avesta. He writes, "If the language of the Avesta were known to us at a stage earlier by six or seven centuries, it could hardly differ at all from that of the Vedic hymns." Therefore the Aryans, in his opinion, could not have entered the Panjab or even separated from the Iranians much earlier than about 1300 B.C. (§) According to Prof. A.B. Keith, the priority of the Brāhmaṇas

(*) As for the recent hypothesis of Hertel, according to which the bulk of the hymns should date from about 500 B.C. or even later, it cannot be taken into serious consideration.

(§) For Prof. Macdonell's views see his History of Sanskrit Literature, p.12., his Vedic Reader, Oxford, 1917, p.xii and his article on Hymns (Vedic) in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion etc.

proper to the Upanishads (500 B.C.) (*) is quite undoubted, and thus a lower limit, about 600 B.C., for the latest Brāhmanas is obtained. The later Samhitās, i.e. the Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda, would then not date 'substantially, if at all, after 800 B.C.', which may be taken as the lowest possible date for the completion of the Rgveda. As regards the upper limit of its date, his argument is that there are extraordinary similarities between the language of the Rgveda and that of Zoroaster's Gāthās in the Avesta, and that "it is very doubtful whether Zoroaster can be carried far enough back to make any earlier date than 1200 B.C. or 1300 B.C. for the Rgveda reasonably probable". Further he writes "It is quite possible that the Aryans entered in India 2000 B.C. or some centuries later, but the limits are wholly vague, and while it is probably unreasonable to place the date after 1400 B.C., it is quite possible that it was not before 1500 B.C." (§)

Another estimate, based on the same evidence, is that given by another distinguished authority, Prof. Winternitz. He says, "It seems more probable that the initial date falls (o) in the third rather than in the second millennium". He

(*) The Sūtras, in Prof. Keith's opinion, date between 400 and 200 B.C. He assigns the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra to about 400 B.C. and thus assumes a date before 500 B.C. for the older Upanishads.

(§) For Prof. Keith's views see Cambridge History of India, Vol I, pp. 110-3, and his Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, First half, Part I, pp. 1-26.

(o) Geschichte Indischen Litteratur, Part I, Eng. trans. Calcutta 1927) by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the author, pp. 290-310 on Age of Rgveda.

argues that as the Vedic schools of Baudhāyana and of Āpastambha prove that the Aryans had penetrated in the south of India at least about the seventh or eighth century B.C., it is impossible to place the Aryans towards 1200 or even towards 1500 B.C. We know, it is added, that the Aryans fought among themselves; that they advanced slowly; that at the time of the Rgveda they inhabited the Panjab and eastern Afghanistan, where the composition of its hymns took some centuries; that between the composition of the oldest hymns and their compilation into the Samhitās, and between the constitution of the Samhitās and the Brāhmanas, some centuries passed; and that the Upanishads imply a long tradition. It would be simply ridiculous to suppose that in the course of five, six and even eight centuries, the Aryan people, in spite of their divisions and their intestinal struggles, conquered 123,000 miles of India, founded some states and organised them on the same pattern. On the contrary, they should have taken a longer time to organise their advance. Finally, after pointing out that Buddhism and Jainism presuppose the completion of Vedic literature before the period 750-500 B.C., he maintains that the beginning of this development cannot well be placed as late as 1500-1200 B.C., but probably goes back to 2500-2000 B.C. (*)

(*) Ibid, pp. 210, 313 and 310.

And here in the last estimate is, in our opinion, the possibility which archaeology has partly tested and may eventually be able to confirm: that it was the influx of the warlike Aryans from the west that brought to an end the rich cities like Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro of Chalcolithic times in the Indus Valley. It appears that Prof. Winternitz's argument from the history of Aryan expansion in India and literature is somewhat supported by the discovery of the Indus culture, which is pre-Aryan in character and undeniably goes back to about 2300 B.C. at the lowest. With the help of further archaeological discoveries in the Panjab we may even entertain the hope of finding an approximate date for the advent of the Aryans into the Panjab. Dr. W. Wüst is probably the first to make deductions from the results of the Indus Valley excavations. He places the composition of the oldest books of the *Rgveda Samhitā* between 2000 and 1500 B.C., assigning accordingly the migration-period to the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. (*) The Indian scholar, Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda, has also co-ordinated the data of prehistoric archaeology with literary evidence from the *Rgveda* and later Vedic texts. (§) His examination of the evidence and its comparison with some of the relics from

(*) *W.Z.K.M.* xxxiv, 1927, pp. 164 ff.

Also Wüst's *Stilgeschichte und Chronologie des Rgveda*, Leipzig, 1928, pp.

(§) *Memoir, A.S.I.*, No 31, (1926), Indus Valley in the Vedic period.
Memoir, A.S.I., No 41, (1929). Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley.

Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro tend to show that the Aryans came in contact with the people of Chalcolithic times. Some of this evidence is not convincing, and we cannot accept all his interpretations and conclusions. Yet whatever may have to be altered and added in the future, the Rai Bahadur has written the beginning of a most fascinating and brilliant chapter in Indian history. The early Aryan period, then, should commence approximately in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C., when the Indus Valley civilisation was declining or had just come to an end; that is to say, the people of the Indus Valley were still living, though in a state of decay, reasons for which are difficult to know at this stage of our knowledge. In any case, it is objectionable and fantastic to propose or support so remote a date as 3000 or 4000 B.C. for the actual text of any Rgvedic hymn or for the Aryan settlement in the Panjab. The exorbitant theories of Prof. Jacobi (*) xxx and Lokamanya B.G.Tilak (§) mainly on the ground that in the Rgvedic times the year began with the summer solstice when the sun was in conjunction with the lunar mansion Phālguni are extremely doubtful and cannot be accepted. They rest upon "two wholly improbable assumptions,

(*) He supposed the date to be at least 4000 B.C.

J.R.A.S., 1909, pp 721-26; 1910, pp 456-64.

(§) The Vedic hymns, according to Tilak, were composed not later than 4500 B.C. and show the reminiscences of their Arctic home. (The Orion, 1893, and The Arctic Home in the Vedas, Poona 1903, Cf. Bühler, Ind. Ant., xxiii, pp 238 ff). Contrast A.C. Das, Rgvedic India, pp 356 ff.

first, that the hymns really assert that the year began at the summer solstice, and, second, that the sun was then brought into any connection at all with the Nakshatras, for which there is no evidence whatever. The Nakshatras are, as their name indicates and as all the evidence of the later Samhitās shows, lunar mansions pure and simple." (*)

As shown in the last Chapter, it is now pretty certain that the Indus civilization, which is dated c. 3000 B.C., was towards its decline about 2300 B.C., and that it was probably the Aryans who succeeded the Indus Valley people. This would mean the Aryan migration of the Panjab could scarcely have taken place later than 2000 B.C., and may well have been a century or two earlier. In that case the earliest hymns of the Rgveda, representing as they do the age when the Aryans had become settled in the Panjab, may date back to a period as remote as the first quarter of the second millennium, say 1800 B.C., and this is quite consistent with the linguistic evidence. Philologists are not at all agreed as to one date of the Rgveda. In fact this question is not purely philological, as is generally taken to be. It is precarious to fix the date on the basis of comparing languages (Vedic and Avestic); for in that case 2000 or 1800 B.C. remains quite as possible as 1300-1200 B.C. for the earliest hymns in the Rgveda. Besides,

(*) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, pp 111-12. Cf. Rgveda, ^{BK}vii, 103, 9 and ^{BK}x, 85, 13., from which the deduction has been made.

Besides, Maurice Bloomfield, who has made a special study of the Vedic gods and their prehistoric background, has proposed to place the oldest part of the Rgveda about 2000 B.C., so that according to him the migration of the Aryans would go back to a little earlier than the second millennium B.C. He says, "I am, for my part, and I think I voice many scholars, now much more inclined to listen to an early date, say 2000 B.C., for the beginning of Vedic literary production, and to a much earlier date for the beginnings of the institutions and religious concepts which the Veda has derived from those prehistoric times which cast their shadows forward into the records that are in our hands. Anyhow, we must not be beguiled by that kind of conservatism which merely salves the conscience into thinking that there is better proof for any later date, such as 1500, 1200, or 1000 B.C., rather than the earlier date of 2000 B.C." (*)

(*) Bloomfield, Religion of the Veda, pp. 19-20.

Chapter III.

Part (ii)

What has been stated in the preceding part of this chapter is the previous history of the Aryans, who, it may now be taken to be an historical fact, poured into the Indus valley a little over four thousand years ago. About their history in the Panjab we can learn a good deal from the Rgveda. Except this earliest literary monument of the Aryans, we have up till now from the Panjab, nay even from India, not any piece of archaeological material, "not one bit of real property; not a building, nor a monument; not a coin, jewel, or utensil; - nothing but winged words." But before giving an account of the Aryans, as known from the Rgvedic hymns, we must first know of the country where these hymns were composed.

The Panjab, being the land immediately entered after the Aryans' coming from the west, is naturally mentioned in the hymns of the Rgveda. The Vedic poets indeed had a knowledge of the Panjab. As a matter of fact, the hymns afford no direct geographical references to the country. There are, however, slight indications of some of its physical features, fauna and flora in a number of stanzas, which clearly show that the Aryans knew the whole Panjab

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in its wider sense.

Particularly, the knowledge shown by the poets of rivers in the north west of India is very interesting and instructive. In the famous Nādī Sūkta, the River Hymn, No 75 of the tenth Book, and in several other places of the Saṃhitā all the rivers of the Panjab are mentioned right from the Kubhā, the Kabul river, in the north down to the Sarasvatī (now Sarsuti), with their tributaries. Among them occur the Suvāstu (the Swat river), the Gaurī (Panjkora river), the Mehtanu and the Rasā, all flowing into the Kabul river from the north and passing through Kabulistan. Then we have the mention of the rivers Krumu and Gomatī, corresponding to the present Kurram and Gumal, (§) in which the whole drainage of Waziristan and the Afghan uplands adjoining westwards finds its way to the Indus. "Now these two rivers are comparatively small streams, flowing only when sudden spates fill their beds. But their mention in the R̥gveda points to such acquaintance with Waziristan and the adjacent valleys drained by them as only a prolonged Aryan occupation in an early Vedic period can adequately account for". To the same conclusion points also

(*) For example, Himeva parṇā mushitā vanāni 'like woods robbed of their leaves by the cold' - X, 68,10. The phrase indicates, the real wintry condition of the hills or northern regions of the Panjab. In the south and the United Provinces the trees, though they have dead leaves in winter, are never bare.

(§) For identification of these rivers see A.S.I. Memoirs No 37 and 42, published in 1929 and 1930 respectively.

the incidental mention in the R̥gveda of two other small rivers, Hariyūpīyā and Yavyāvati. It has long been recognised that we may see the phonetic derivatives of these names in the present Hariōb and Zhōb, the one a tributary of the Kurram and the other an affluent of the Gumal. (*) Moreover, the Aryan occupation of the extreme west and extreme north west of India is proved not only by the mention of the rivers in that area, but by the mention of Vedic tribes like "the Alinas, perhaps from the north-east of Kāfiristān, the Pakthas, whose name recalls the Afghān Pakhthūn, the Bhalanases, possibly connected with the Bolān Pass". (§)

That the Aryans were in possession of the whole modern Panjab is clear from the mention of rivers like the Sindhu (Indus) and its tributaries - the Sushomā (Sohan), the Ārjikiyā(?), the Vitastā (Jehlam), the Aśiknī (Chanab), the Parushnī (Ravi), the Vipās (Bias), the Śutudrī (Satluj), the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti) with the Āpayā and the Dr̥shadvatī (probably the modern Chīṣtang). (o) In the north the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kashmir, as in the Nadi Sūkta we find a mention of the small river Marudvrdhā (maruwardhan), which flows from north to south and joins

(*) A.S.I. Memoir No 37.

(§) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p.82.

(o) For identifications see J.R.A.S., 1917, pp.91 ff, and Geographical Dictionary (second edition) by Nandoo Lal Dey.

(*)

the Chanab on its northern bank in Kishtwar. In the east they had certainly spread over the fertile plain on the Upper Yamunā (Jumna) beyond the Sarasvatī region. This is shown from the fact that Yamunā is mentioned thrice in the Rgveda. In all likelihood the region of the Upper Ganga (Ganges) river has not been properly colonized; the Ganges, which is of frequent occurrence in later literature and held in great reverence, is mentioned directly only once. That the Aryans had not yet conquered the heart of north India in Rgvedic times is also confirmed by the absence of any mention of the tiger, found in Bengal, and of rice, a natural product of the east. The grains named are corn or barley, and the wild animals, the lion, the wolf, the bear and the elephant. The snake is also mentioned; while the tame animals are the horse, the cow, the sheep, the goat, the buffalo, the dog and the ass. While thus the Rgveda does not know of the country to the east of the Panjab, its hymns also make no mention of the south. There is indeed a reference to a region called Dakshinā-padā, lit., 'with southward foot,' in a hymn,^(§) where it undoubtedly means "the south beyond the limits of the recognized Aryan world." What exactly this term signified at that time is not known; the absence of any reference to the rivers, mountains and peoples of western, central and southern India in the Rgveda rather indicates that the Aryans had

(*) Ibid, pp 92-96.

(§) Bk X, 61, 8.

not penetrated into that direction and were still confined in the south to the area watered by the Sarasvatī, which was in those days a perennial river and flowed into the Indus, like other rivers of the Panjab. (*)

All through the ages the Panjab, and through it India, have had active intercourse with the outside world both by land and sea. Since the dawn of its civilization, as shown by the Indus Valley remains, it has known the sea and has never lived in isolation. Yet it is sometimes wrongly assumed that the early Aryans had no idea of the ocean. The term Samudra that occurs not rarely in the Rgveda no doubt means the celestial cloud-ocean, but it is also used for the lower course of the Indus from its confluence with the rivers of the Panjab, where it assumes the appearance of a sea owing to a great mass of swelling waters. As a matter of fact, when the Aryans became settled in the Panjab, some of them took to navigation down the Indus and reached the Indian ocean, so that the word Samudra must have at first been applied to the ocean and then to any gathering of waters on earth or in the sky. On this question of their acquaintance with the ocean, the authors of the Vedic Index are inclined to believe the Aryans had such a knowledge, "which was almost inevitable to the people

(*) Some scholars like Fargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London 1922, Chapter XXV, p.299) try to prove from the order of the rivers mentioned in the verse 5 of the Rgveda, X,75 (See Appendix I) that the Aryans spread over the Panjab from the east, i.e. Gangetic Doab. This is not correct; the safest assumption is that the poet, while recording the river names, had a difficulty which he solved by fitting their sequence with his metre.

who knew the Indus. There are references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls or the gains of trade, and the story of Bhujyu seems to allude to maritime navigation.^(*) This is the correct view, and is supported now by the fact that the Aryans, when they came in touch with the Indus Valley people, probably derived their information about the ocean from these older inhabitants, who definitely had a knowledge thereof, being the users of the conch-shell objects and well acquainted with navigation.

Thus in the earliest Vedic times the Aryans are seen to have had their settlements on the banks of the great or small rivers in the north-west of India, and not to have colonized the Gangetic valley. The fact that the river Sarayu is mentioned thrice^(§) in the R̥gveda does not indicate that the R̥gvedic Aryans had gone as far as Ayodhya, which is situated on a river called Sarayu. It may well have been the name of a river in the Panjab; the passage in the first hymn mentioning it is not helpful for its location, but in the passages of the other two hymns it is clearly associated with the rivers of the north-west, such as the Rasā, the Kubhā, the Sindu and the Sarasvatī.^(o) Likewise to show the

(*) Macdonell and Keith: Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, London 1912, Vol II, p.432.

(§) Ek IV, 30, 18; V, 53, 9; X, 64, 9.

(o) Mā vo Rasā Anitabhā Kubhā Krumur mā vah Sindhur nirīramat; mā vah parishthāt Sarayuh Purishinyasme it sumnam astu vah. Ek V, 53, 9.

Sarasvatī Sarayu Sindhur etc. Ek X, 64, 9.

Compare with this the frequent use of the name Avon in Britain.

acquaintance of the R̥gvedic Aryans with the further east the names Kikata, Matsya and Chedi (*) are sometimes quoted, but these again may have belonged to the north-west in the Vedic territory, or near to it eastward, or at the utmost it may be said that, if they have any reference to eastern territories, some adventurers from among the Aryans of the Panjab had pushed, as so often in later times, eastward into Ayodhya as far as the banks of the Sarayu, but that there was no regular Aryan settlement in the time of R̥gvedic compositions.

It is, however, generally believed that, although the regions of the Panjab have close association with the early Aryans, their principal settlements were farther east than the Panjab proper, and that the bulk of the R̥gvedic hymns were composed on the eastern confines of the country, that is, the particular region lying between the Sarasvatī and the Dr̥shadvatī, which came to be designated later in tradition as Kurukshetra, Brahmāvarta or Brahmarshi-deśa, (§) the holy land of Manu and the Epic and Puranas. This common belief, apart from the tradition which in fact relates to the Aryans of later times, is based on certain

(*) BK III, 53, 14.

Bk VII, 18, 6.

Bk VIII, 5, 37-39.

(§) Mānava Dharma Śāstra, Bk II, 17, 19.

Brahmarshi-deśa is defined by Manu as denoting a wider area, comprising Kurukshetra, the Matsyas, Pañchālas, and Śūrasenakas.

wrong notions about the topography and climate of the Panjab. (*) The whole position on this side of the question is well explained by the late Dr. A.C. Woolner, (§) whose long career of about thirty two years as Professor of Sanskrit Literature and a high Officer in the University of the Panjab made him peculiarly qualified to speak with authority on the subject. He writes "Now, anyone who has been familiar with the Panjab for a number of years and has travelled all over it at different times of the year, must admit that the mountains are visible all the way from Rawalpindi to Ambala, if you are near enough and the air is clear..... Along the line of the foot-hills of the Himalayas there is a strip of country say 50 miles wide, well in view of the mountains, very fertile, with a rainfall distinctly greater than in the west of the Panjab. This is where population is densest, and contains historical sites like Jalandhar and Siwalkot. If by way of hypothesis the width of the strip be doubled, adding a strip of drier land (o)

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- (*) Prof. Hopkins in J.A.O.S., 1888, Vol XIX, Second Half, pp. 19 ff; Prof. Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 145; Prof. Keith in Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter IV, p. 79 and his Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, Vol I, Part I, Chapter 1, p. 3.
- (§) B.S.O.S. Vol VI, Part 2, 1931 (Special Volume in honour of Prof. Rapson), pp 549 ff.
- (o) Dr. Woolner here adds the footnote: "The use of wells indicates that the water-line was not very deep. The word ghanvan usually translated "desert" need not always mean a sandy desert devoid of plants".

but still all near enough to the mountains for a knowledge of them and for the use of stone, we have a range of country about the size of Portugal, which apparently would account for the geographical data of the Rgveda as well as the district south of Ambala. That is no proof that the Aryan settlers occupied this area, but if we are to suppose they neglected the greater part of it, we may ask what the reason could have been." Further, as to the rainfall and storms he says, "regularity of seasonal phenomena is not characteristic of the Panjab. We have no regular rains in the monsoon season, though we generally have one or two violent storms with heavy rain and often floods during that period. That is why the University of the Panjab works through the heat of May and June and has no rains' term July to September like the Universities of the United Provinces. A study of the Panjab finance would show how sorely we are tried by the irregularity of seasonal phenomena; by absence of rain at the right time, by heavy rain at the wrong time, by hail, and by floods. A powerful but incalculable Storm God needs more propitiation in the Panjab than the deity which brings the warm, beneficent rain to the rest of India". In connection with dawn or sunrise described in several hymns of the Rgveda, Dr. Woolner's observation is: "the phenomena of dawn being more subjective are not so definitely recorded. The present writer has seen some thousands of dawns in the Panjab, but

they vary so with the weather that it is difficult to make any sharp distinction between the Panjab and the north of the United Provinces or between the east and west of the Panjab. On the whole, it appears that the finest colour effects are seen in the drier regions and in dry weather before the season of dust storms and heat haze." In short, he concludes, "the knowledge shown of rivers in the north and on the west of the Indus would be surprising if the bulk of the hymns were composed in Kuruksetra" or in Ambala District. The traditions associating the beginning of the Aryans with Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetra all ascribe to the Aryans more of a religious and philosophical, than of a secular character, which would mean that the early Aryans were a community of priests rather than one of warlike people, a character not supported by the hymns of the R̥gveda. Moreover, the tract assigned to the Brahmāvarta is of very circumscribed extent, which could not have been the seat of numerous tribes such as are mentioned in the Veda. We may sum up in Dr. Woolner's words: "The revelations of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro and the possibility of finding archaeological strata contemporary with the beginning of the Vedic age in the Panjab lend a new interest to evidence of the Veda and it is reasonable to challenge the bases of any

(P.T.O.)

prevailing belief with regard to the location of the main settlements of the Vedic Aryans." (*)

Thus we see the Aryans were in possession of almost the whole north-western India at the time represented by the hymns of the Rgveda, which roughly cover a period of about eight or nine centuries in the second millennium B.C. The valley of the Ganges was to them almost an unknown land; even the banks of the Jumna were not completely occupied. We also find that, in the region inhabited in the north-west by the Aryans, a particular area, perhaps where the Vedic tribes were the strongest, was designated the Sapta Sindhu. (§) This name Sapta Sindhu or Sapta Sindhavah is used in the Rgveda for a

(Turn over)

(*) Scholars like Hillebrandt, relying on dubious identification of peoples mentioned in the Rgveda with tribes located in Afghanistan with those mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius and by later Greek authors, have argued that the home of the Rgveda lay in Afghanistan or ancient Iran and not in the Panjab. This view is not at all convincing, and is generally rejected. Cambridge History of India, Vol I, pp. 86 ff.

(§) It is wrong to say that the Aryans were at first confined only to the Sapta Sindhu.

(§) and elsewhere (*) and elsewhere in the definite country in one hymn in the sense of seven rivers. Max Müller (o) thought that the seven rivers meant are the seven rivers of the Panjab, viz., the Sindhu, the Vitastā, the Asiknī, the Parushnī, the Vipās, the Sutuāri and the Sarasvatī, (.) and since then it has been usual with scholars to regard the Indus valley and the modern Panjab as, roughly speaking, the equivalent of the Sapta Sindhu of the Rgveda. (x) In this connection

(*) Ek.VIII, 24,27. The stanza reads as follows:-

Ya rkshād+amhaso muchadyo vā-~~Aryāt~~ sapta Sindhushu,
Vadhar Dāsasya tuvinrmna ninemah.

Trans - "Who would save (us) from grievous woe or from an Aryan (enemy) in the land of seven Rivers; thou O valiant hero, thou did bend the Dāsa's weapon."

(§) Ek I,32,12; 35,8; Ek II, 12,3,12; Ek IV, 28,1; Ek VIII, 56,12; Ek IX,66,6; Ek X 43,3; Sapta-nādyah Ek X,64,8; Valahilya 6,4. Thus I,32,12 extols Indra for having let the seven rivers flow - avasrjas sartave Sapta Sindhūn.

(o) Chips from a German Workshop I,p.63. Cf Muir, Sanskrit Texts, I, p 490 n.

(.) The Sarasvatī, and not in stead the Kubhā, is to be included in the Sapta Sindhavah. Stanza 6 of Ek VII, 36,6 is significant, as it calls the Sarasvatī the seventh, which makes her one of these rivers.

(x) The Avesta of the Persians mentions (Vendidad I,18 ^{cf.} Sacred Books of the East, vol IV, part I, second edition) Happta Hindu as the name of a country in a list of sixteen countries, created by Ahura Mazda. It is apparently identical with Sapta Sindhu. But the fact that the Vendidad chapter is very late in its composition, say first century A.D., and that the designation Sapta Sindhu for the Panjab had been long in disuse in India, several centuries even before Darius' time, will show that the list does not represent history contemporary with the author: it merely retains an old traditional name of the Panjab which had been forgotten in India. It is very

(Note continued)

In this connection it is worthy of note that Major Raverty recorded a tradition current on the lower course of the Indus that even to the present day the united rivers of the Panjab are styled the 'Sat Nad' or Sapta Sindhū of the Rgveda.^(*)

ly find in the Rgveda many praises for the greatest river ^(§)all-Sindhū, which was also called the Sarasvatī. It was on ^{er} Sindhū, which was also called the Sarasvatī. It was on the banks of the Sindhū and its tributaries, the ^{eastern} ~~Sarasvatī~~ ^{eastern} included, where the Aryans lived, and their poets composed hymns that were later on collected and compiled in the Rgveda Samhitā. The eastward advance of the Aryans took place in a much later period, which is also contemporaneous with the period of the other three Vedas, so far as they are independent of the Rgveda, and with that of the

Note continued) likely that the followers of Zoroaster used a wider territory Hapta Hindu instead of Hindu country, the Sindhudeśa of Indian literature, this we know well from history had been under Persian domination for about two centuries before the invasion of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C.

(*) J.A.S.B. vol LXI, Part I (1892), p.220f.n.

(§) The Sarasvatī was at first merely the name of any river. Then it came to be applied to particular rivers, e.g., the Indus and the modern Sarsuti. Cf Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol II, p.435. Perhaps the 'seven-sistered' Sarasvatī (Saptaśvāsā) referred to in Ek VI, 61, 10, 12, implies the Sindhū. In this connection a stanza in the Yajurveda (Vājasaneyī Samhitā, xxxiv, 2) is very significant. This reads as under:

Pañcha nadyah Sarasvatīm apiyanti sasrotasah,
Sarasvatī tu pañchadhā sa deśo 'bhavat sarit.'

Trans: "Five rivers, together with their affluents, flow into the Sarasvatī, and again Sarasvatī (flows into the sea) by five mouths. That land (this which Sarasvatī flows) has become the River (i.e. Sindhū, Sindhudeśa)."

Brahmanas. Thus the main source available for our study of the early Aryans in the Panjab remains only the Rgveda, (*) which is Panjabi in origin as well as Panjabi in character.

Since the study of the Rgveda on critical lines was started more than a hundred years ago by great Sanskrit scholars in the west and in India, it has yielded abundant information about the Aryan people settled in the Sapta Sindhu. We can obtain, considering the nature of the document, a fair knowledge of them, so far as religion and religious practices are concerned. Next is available some information as to their secular life - their political and social institutions, their material conditions, their civic life, their domestic life, etc. The hymns of the Veda, theological as they are, cannot possibly contain any narrative history. Hence the reproach which is generally levelled at ancient Indians that they lacked historical sense and neglected their history, we must admit, is well merited, if history is taken in the sense of political history, i.e. the lists of dynasties and kings, the description of wars, conquests and invasions. But the Indians

(*) The Sāmaveda, which mostly consists of the Rgvedic hymns, arranged with reference to the places in Soma sacrifice, has very little importance of its own. The Yajurveda, however, though depending upon the Rgveda, has great historical importance. In it we come across new geographical features which suggest that the Aryans had by the time of its compilation spread from the Panjab further inward to the Gangetic valley. Besides pointing to an eastward advance of the Aryans, the Yajurveda also marks a complete social and religious transformation from Rgvedic institutions. The Atharvaveda too has drawn from the Rgveda, but to a less degree. Much of it contains matter
(continued)

have always regarded political history as the mere frame in which the picture of the life of the people is set, so that if we take history in the sense of the story of evolution of the mind, a picture of the life of the people, what they thought and what they dreamt, what they achieved and where they failed, no country of the past can furnish such rich, varied and abundant material as the ancient Panjab through its literature of the Rgveda. We may thus say that the ancient Indians did not lack the historical sense, but possessed historical sense of a different order than modern historians. The account of the general culture, revealed from the hymns of the Rgveda, is a separate subject by itself; it will therefore be discussed in the following chapter.

Nevertheless, if details of Aryan history in the modern sense are wanting in the Rgveda, some of its hymns and detached passages, turn out to be precious documents, as the result of critical study. They have incidentally furnished historical data that commemorate real events and perpetuate some of the names of leading tribes, peoples and men, though we do not know their chronological setting. For example we see in the hymns the "earthly kinds whom the god Indra copies - generous to bards and bold to smite the dark-skinned enemies, lovers of Soma, dicing and horse-

Note continued) which indicates contact and natural fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures, and as such can be utilized to some extent for the history of certain pre-Aryan institutions even for the Sapta Sindhu.

racings". But the allusions to historical occurrences and names are so scant that it is not possible to attempt any reconstruction of early Vedic political history. Yet a few broad isolated historical facts of the Aryan age may be gleaned from the material obtained, which we shall record here.

In the first place we may note that the Aryans did not come to conquer like invaders of later historical times, such as the Persians, Yavanas, Śakas, Hūnas, etc., but to settle and possess. The R̥gveda already reveals a regularly settled life of the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu, where they mustered strong. That it was so is clear from the fact that there is a real advanced civilization depicted in the hymns, which presupposes a stage of culture among the Aryans that evolved in the Indus valley itself. Modern writers on ancient Indian history, it has been rightly observed, usually and somewhat rashly, assume that the country was being overrun by migratory tribes of the Aryans, while the hymns were being composed, and that the age to which these hymns carry us was a period of Aryan settlement. As a matter of fact the Aryan occupation of the Sapta Sindhu had been almost completed long before some of the hymns were composed, and at that time the Aryan settlers had already turned out many old inhabitants, who were now living in the neighbourhood of the Aryan land and at times disturbed the peace of the settled Aryan people. From this

it follows that the Aryans were more numerous in the Sapta Sindhu and that they formed a large proportion of the population. That this was so is also obvious from the general spread of the Aryan religion and culture, which superseded the pre-existing civilization. There are, however, indications in the Rgveda that there were still non-Aryan tribes left in the Sapta Sindhu, from which the presence, at a remoter date, of a large non-Aryan population may be taken as granted in the north-west of India. These non-Aryans, however, could not have been removed by the Aryan invaders all at once. They must have been driven out gradually, and those who were left behind were ultimately absorbed in the Aryan system. Yet the Aryan feeling of hatred against the non-Aryans, which was deep-rooted, continued with the result that they were reduced to the lowest status, often expressed by various contemptuous terms like Dāsa and Dasyu, which mean in Sanskrit serfs and barbarian respectively.

Apart from these derisive names, the Dāsas and Dasyus were called by many characteristic epithets. They are reproached in the hymns for having either no ceremonies (avrata, Bk I, 51,8; 175,3; Bk VIII, 86,3; etc) or strange rites (anyavrata, Bk VIII, 59,11; Bk X, 22,8; etc), for being non-human or demonic (amānusha, Bk X, 22,8 etc), for not performing Vedic sacrifices (akarman, Bk X, 22,8 etc, ayajyu, Bk VII, 6,3 etc and ayajvan Bk I, 33,5), for not

honouring gods (adevayu, Bk VII, 93,5; Bk VIII, 86,3; etc), for not being given to devotion or prayer (abrahman, Bk IV, 16,9 etc). Some of these derisive epithets, obviously out of jealousy, were sometimes applied by Aryans to other Aryans. For example the Arya is described as godless (adevayu, Bk X,38,3) and on this account is associated with the Dāsa in the priest's hatred (Bk VII,22,10). Again, the Arya like the Dāsa speaks ^{unmanly or} hostile words or addresses with spells (mr̥dhra-vāk, Bk I,174,2; Bk V.29,10; Bk VII,18,13),

The question now arises who these non-Aryans, Dāsas and Dasyus, were. We already have known from an account of archaeological prehistory of the Indus Valley that north-western India was occupied by a people who were in the Chalcolithic stage of their civilization. It was probably their descendants in the Panjab whom the earliest Aryans encountered, when they entered the Indus Valley. The constant mention of Dāsas and Dasyus as enemies of the Aryans in the R̥gvedic hymns ^(*) is a pointer to the fact that the Aryans, on their first entry, did not find this home of Sapta Sindhu an empty space. Several passages in the Veda describe the struggle of the Aryans and the struggle of their god Indra in favour of the Aryans against Dāsas

(*) See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol I, articles on Dāsa and Dasyu, pp.347 ff and 356 ff.

(*) and Dasyus. But these enemies were not at all barbarous, as they are described in Vedic hymns; that is only out of animosity and contempt. On the contrary, they possessed a fairly advanced civilisation, inasmuch as the hymns show that these Dāsas and Dasyus had fortified cities (purās) or walled towns (durgā), built of stone, brick and ayas. We also learn that they had developed some technique of war and possessed fighting qualities, though inferior to those of the Aryans, which is evident from the allusions to fierce battles fought against them, for the success in which the Aryans prayed to their gods. (§) Besides, we have now independent evidence from the Indus Valley sites like Harappa on the Ravi and Mohenjo-Daro on the Indus for the existence of a civilized people in the very region where the Aryans fought their battles, so that there is a great probability that they were no other than the Indus Valley people, who were in the Chalcolithic stage of their culture. This evidence of archaeology is further confirmed by two different passages in the Rgveda, wherein a reference is

(*) Bk I, 51, 8; 103, 3; 117, 21; Bk II, 11, 18, 19; Bk III, 34, 9; Bk V, 34, 6; Bk VI, 18, 3; 22, 10, ; 33, 3, 60, 6; Bk VII, 5, 6; 83, 1; Bk X, 38, 3; 49, 3; 69, 6; 83, 1.

There is no doubt Dasyus were often demons, and several of their chiefs had personalities which were more or less mythological. But the realistic and human details of their character are numerous. And when especially the names Dāsa and Dasyu are found in some passages as referring definitely to human enemies, it may be regarded as certain that these names signified earthly enemies in the time of the Rgveda.

(§) A study of their culture, whatever can be gleaned from Vedic hymns, is to follow later.

made to Sísnadevas^(*) or those whose god is the phallus. This title fits in exactly with the Chalcolithic population of the Indus Valley, among whom we have seen the phallic^(§) worship prevailed.

Apparently Dasyus or Dāsas were from the outset non-Aryan tribes; and quite possibly their name may be the same as that of the Dahae of the Oxus, which probably denoted merely non-Aryan 'natives'. But it does not follow thence that they were racially the same as these Dahae and that they had invaded India (and East Iran, as Hillebrandt thinks), and that this name was later applied generally to all native tribes of India. It is indeed very unlikely that the racial name of a northern and presumably fair-skinned invading tribe would have been applied to dark native races by the Aryans. The alternative and as we think right view is that they had racially nothing to do with the Dahae, but were natives of India and at least to some extent dark-skinned,

and that the Aryans applied to them the names which they

(*) Bk VII, 21, 5; Bk X, 99, 3. The stanzas read as follows:-

1. Na yātava Indra jūjuvur no na vandana śavishta
vedyābhih,
Sa śardhadāryo vishunasya jantor mā sísnadevā api
gurrtam nah.

ii. Sa vājam yātāpadushpadā yant|svarshātā pari shadat
Anarvā yat^{chh} śatadurasya vedo ghnañ śísnadevañ abhi
varpasā bhūt.

The word sisna 'phallus' also occurs in Bk X, 27, 19.

(§) See Chapter II above, p.

might in earlier centuries have applied to the Dahae, but which never meant more than 'native' as opposed to the Aryan tribes. Old Persian dahyav-, later Avestan danhav-, Gathic dahyav-, mean 'district, territory' but often with the population included (like Sanskrit rāshtra); thence comes Middle Persian dēh, Modern Persian dīh, 'town, village'. The Iranians used the word for all lands and populations generally, while the Indo-Aryans limited it to populations of non-Aryan race first in the Indus Valley, and then in the rest of India. As regards form, apparently dasyu is to dāsa as manyu to māna, tanyu to tāna, sahyu to sāha, druhyu to droha, etc.

Thus, it is practically certain that the earliest Aryans who first migrated into the Panjab were familiar with the occupants of the Indus Valley and came in close and active contact with them. For some time, here, as elsewhere, the two civilised peoples, the conquered and the conquerors, must have lived side by side, and, considering that the Aryans began to expand rapidly as soon as they had settled in the plains of the Panjab, it is hardly likely that the two should not have come into contact, whether hostile or otherwise. We shall have occasion to speak at greater length on the influence of the Indus Valley culture on the Aryans of the Sapta Sindhu in Chapter III. However, the final issue of the struggle between the two peoples was the triumph of the

Aryans, though their struggle for supremacy, after the Aryan settlement in the Sapta Sindhu, continued on its confines; this struggle is a theme of many hymns in the Rgveda. It has already been shown that these Indus Valley people encountered by the Aryan invaders may be reckoned as Dravidians, though this cannot be strictly proved.

We have no means for knowing the political life of the Aryans of the Panjab at the early stages of their career in that country. But from the nature of their settlement and tribal organization, as known from the hymns, it can be surmised that the political order was tribal, that is to say, when the Aryans colonized the country, they were divided amongst a number of janas or tribes, small or great. Some changes, however, would have certainly occurred in political life by the time when large territories had been conquered, and they would have been determined by the new environments. In consequence of the needs of military offence and defence and other similar needs, some old janas changed their character; the most powerful among them in a locality became prominent and exercised political influence over the neighbouring small or weak janas. Such, for example, were the pañcha-janāh, which denoted the five tribes of the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu. And the territory in which a particular

(*) Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index Vol I, pp. 466-68.

jana had become powerful came to be known as its rāṣṭra,^(*)
 later janapada.^(§) In fact, the Rgvedic jana, and especially the political jana, was not as sometimes understood,^(o) a clan, which was only an aggregation of families or kulas; it rather implied a constitution of a number of clans,^(x) gotras, grouped together by community of various interests, mainly political, in a particular region. It must, however, be remembered that, though a rāṣṭra was designated after a particular jana or tribe, it could not have possibly contained the people of that particular tribe only. The Aryans had entered in numerous successive waves and scattered over north-western India between the river barriers. Small tribes living side by side in a locality, realising their weakness in course of time, combined with the most powerful for the purpose of making the territory occupied safe from attacks of the Dasyu-Dāśas and also from those of the Aryan tribes that had entered the land earlier. Besides, there was, in each rāṣṭra, some element of non-Aryan population, so that as time went on, birth or domicile in a rāṣṭra or janapada began to be considered a greater bond than the original kinship, i.e. descent from a common ancestor. Thus, out of the original janas or tribes were evolved Aryan states in the Sapta Sindhu, and

(*) Ibid, Vol II, p.223.

(§) Ibid, Vol I, p.273.

(o) Rgveda Bk X, 179,2. Cf. Vedic Index Vol I, p.171.

(x) Vedic Index Vol I, pp. 235-6.

by amalgamation, conquest and other means, some of the original janapadas later developed into mahājanapadas of (*) (Great States). We hear/two such great janapadas of the Panjab in the Buddhistic literature - Gandhāra and Kamboja.

Usually, the Aryan state in Sapta Sindhu was monarchi- cal; it belonged to the Rajan, and the Kshatriya lorded over it, as well as protected it. It is however too much to say that in the Sapta Sindu days the Aryans had founded empires and had emperors ruling over the country. In the Rgveda we find the terms ekarāja, 'unique king' (Ek VIII, 37,3); adhirāja, 'over-King' (Ek X, 128,9); samrāt, and 'complete king' (Ek I, 25,10; II.28,6; V,85,1; VI,68,9; VIII,42,1); ^{and} svarāt, 'self King' (Ek II, 28,1); but these only indicate that perhaps there was a struggle for supremacy going on between the various Rajans, and those that attained to pre-eminence or supremacy amongst them took the distinctive title of samrāt etc. It may be that the highest type of these royal titles was claimed by one who conquered the Dasyu-Dāsas, and thereby caused the Aryan ~~charma~~ - worship of Vedic gods with fire sacrifice - to prevail among the people at large.

(*) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p.172.

(§) Rgveda, Ek VII,34 - Rājā rāshṭrānām.
 Ibid, Ek X,173,1 - Esha rāshṭraṁ kshatriyasya gupitam.

The pañcha-janāh, referred to above, who gained the supremacy in the Sapta Sindhu, were called Yadu, Turvaśa, Pūru, Druhyu and Anu. These are also the names of their kings and are sometimes supposed to denote the names of their ancestors, Yadu, Pūru, etc. But that they were so called eponymously from their respective ancestors may be doubted. The truth is probably the reverse, that is, the five ancestors, Yadu etc, were probably fictitious, invented to explain the names of the pañcha-janāh, 'five tribes', of the Rgveda. Thus the connection of Nahusha and Yayāti (*) with Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, who are collectively said to be Yayāti's sons in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, as well as in the Purānas, is incredible. There is no trace whatever of such connection in the Vedic hymns, where these names have been mentioned. Moreover, it is wrong to suppose after Sāyana, the commentator of the Vedas in the fourteenth century A.D. that the term pañcha-janāh denoted the four castes - Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra -; (§) he is merely explaining the Vedic expression in accordance with the wishful thinking of his own age.

As regards the location of these tribes nothing definite can be said with the data available from the hymns. The Yadus and Turvaśas were twin tribes always named together.

(*) Nahusha and Yayāti were two figures of very ancient legend in the Rgveda.

(§) H. Wilson, Rigveda Samhitā, Eng. tran. London 1850-88, Vol I. p xliii and Vol II, p xv.

They appear to have lived as neighbours, probably in southern regions of Sapta Sindhu between the Indus and the Jumna. The Druhyus may have been a north-western people, while the Anus and Pūrus probably inhabited regions in the Panjab Proper, though the latter of these two, being the most powerful of all pañcha-janāh tribes, spread beyond the Satluj as well. It is interesting to note that the territory occupied by the Anus and Pūrus is afterwards found to be in the possession of the Kekayas or Kaikayas and Bāhlīka-Madrakas.

The hymns of the Rgveda tell us more about the Pūrus; we read of a number of their kings in connection with wars fought in the Sapta Sindhu. "The earliest prince recorded was Durgaha, who was succeeded by Girikshit, neither of these being more than names." The son of Girikshit, Purukutsa, was the first known great king, who is mentioned several times in the Veda as Victor over non-Aryans. His son, Trasadasyu, was so named, because he became a "terror to the Dasyus". In one of the hymns (Ek IV, 42,9) it is stated that his birth was regarded by his mother, who had been in misfortune, as the cause of great comfort to her. Among other kings a notable figure is Kuruśravana,

(*) Vedic Index, Vol I, p 541.

(§) He is called Paurukutsya in the Rgveda (Ek V, 33,8. and Ek VIII, 19,36) as also Paurukutsi (Ek VII, 19,3).

who is specially praised for his charities (Bk X,33, 4-9). It is very significant that his name connects him on the one hand with the Kurus, and on the other with Trasadasyu and through him with the Pūrus. This probably shows that the Kurus and Pūrus were closely related by intermarriage. (*)

Another Aryan tribe, and perhaps the most important and powerful of all tribes in the Sapta Sindhu, was that of the Bharatas, who in later times gave their name to India, called after them Bhārata-Varsha. (§) They seem to have had the closest possible relation with the Trtsus, another Aryan tribe, though the exact connection between the two is not known. (o) Both are mentioned established as enemies of the Pūrus etc on the banks of the Savasvatī, Āpayā and Drshadvatī rivers. The first great king of the Trtsu-Bharatas was Divodāsa (x) Atithigva, a son of Vadhryasva. He repeatedly fought against and defeated the non-Aryans and others, including the Yadus and Turvaśas. However his greatest enemy was Sambara (ø) "the Dāsa, who

(*) The name Ikshvāku occurs in the Rgveda (Bk X,60,4); it is pretty certain from the later Vedic evidence that there existed a family of this name, which was connected with the Pūrus (Vedic Index, Vol I, p 75).

(§) uttaram yat samudrasya Himādreś chaiva dakshinam,

varsham tad Bhāratam nāma Bhāratī yatra santatih.
(Vishni Purana, II, 3, 1)

Cf. Vāyu Purāna, xlv, 76.

(o) For controversy in this connection read Vedic Index, Vol I, pp.321-3.

(x) This name means 'servant of the heaven'. The word dāsa in it has wrongly led Hillebrandt (Cf Vedic Index, Vol I, pp. 357-8) to treat him as a Dāsa and find Dāsas of the Rgveda among the Dahae in Iran instead of among the non-Aryans in the Indus valley.

(-) Perhaps a title indicative of Divodāsa's hospitality and liberality.
(ø) Vedic Index, Vol I, p.363.

was apparently chief of a mountain people" and had constructed numerous forts. The most famous Bharata king (*) was Sudās or Sudāsa, Divodāsa's son or grandson. He was as warlike as Divodāsa and shared the glory of his illustrious ancestor by making many conquests, in which he was aided by rshis like Viśvāmitra and Vasishtha, the two well-known Puroshitas connected with the Trtsu-Bharatas. (§) This supremacy of the Trtsu-Bharatas, however, appears to have passed some time after Sudās to the Pūrus and finally to the Kurus, of whom we shall speak in more detail presently.

Besides the Aryan tribes or janas mentioned above, some of the others, referred to in the Rgveda, as inhabiting the Sapta Sindhu, were the Alinas, Gandhāris and Pakthas, Bhaṭānases, Śivas, Matsyas, Vishānins and Uśīnaras. Though they cannot be located with any certainty, yet it seems fairly clear that the Alinas possibly occupied the territory to the north-east of Kafiristan; (x) that the Gandhāris and Pakthas probably corresponded to the modern Kabul valley with its affluents and Pakhtūn in the Trans-Indus Border; (o) that the Bhaṭānases inhabited the country

(*) Ibid, Vol I, p 527; Vol II, p 454. Pijavana is the name of the father of Sudās according to the explanation of Yāska on the patronymic Paijavana (Nirukta II, 24).

(§) Divodāsa is found associated with the Purohita Bhavadvāja, while his descendant Sudās is associated with Viśvāmitra and Vasishtha. There is nothing surprising in this, inasmuch as Purohitas of different families can come into religious relations with the same people.

(x) Vedic Index, Vol I, p 39.

(*)

round the Bolan Pass in British Baluchistan; and that the others possessed territories lying far to the east of the Indus. None of these tribes, it appears from the hymns, gained any political importance in the early history of the Panjab. The *Usīnāras*, however, who migrated to the east, are found to have become stronger at the close of the Rgvedic epoch in the region between the *Sarasvatī* and the *Jumna*.

The hymns of the *Rgveda Samhitā*, as already remarked, were not composed at one time; they represent ages of many centuries, before and during which the Aryan tribes continuously fought the *Dasyus* and *Dāsas*. The latter, however, never succeeded in defeating the *pañcha-janāh*, the *Trtsu-Bharatas* or other Aryan people, with the result that they were driven out in course of time from the land of Seven Rivers. The only non-Aryan tribes traceable from the hymns are the *Śimyas*, *Kikatas*, and perhaps the *Ajas*, *Yakshus* and *Sigrus*. Many scholars, after *Ludwig*, have taken the *Paṇis*, a wealthy commercial class, always

(*) *Ibid.*, Vol II, p 99.

(§) *Vedic Index*, Vol I, pp 12, 157; Vol II, pp 182, 378 and 381.

(x) *Rigveda*, trans, Prague 1876-88, Vol III, §§ 34 and 51.

— moving, also as a non-Aryan tribe, but this remains doubtful; the name is "wide enough to cover either the aborigines or hostile Aryan tribe, as well as demons". (§)
 Probably their originally historic character was gradually forgotten, and by the time when the later hymns were composed the Panis had become mythical. (x) Besides, we meet in the Rgveda some individual un-Aryan names, such as Sambara, Pipru, Varchin, Vrkadvaras, Pramaganda, Ilībiśa, Dhuni, Chumuri, etc. They are all mentioned either in connection with actual wars fought against them by the Aryan princes (o) or in prayers to Indra for protection from them and the like.

It appears from the Rgveda that the more ambitious and warlike among the Rajans of Sapta Sindhu tried to make themselves supreme over their neighbours, Aryan or non-Aryan, but that military alliances between different political janas, sometimes together with non-Aryan tribes

(§) The feature in the Panis on which the Rgveda chiefly insists is their not offering sacrifice to Aryan gods and not giving fees, dakshina, to Aryan priests, which facts suggest rather Ludwig's conception, but are not conclusive.

As to the name Pani, it is probably from the root parn -, whence the substantive pana, meaning 'something engaged for payment', 'wage', 'hire', even 'bet', thence also 'coin' for payment. Pani is to Pana as gani is to gana. We may compare pani with gani, the title of Jain higher monks. Grassmann in his translation of the Rgveda suggests connection of pani with vanig or banij; but this is phonetically difficult, unless we assume a word * panij and a compound such as * mahāpanij, whence in Prakrit came * maṛāvanij, from which again vanij was abstracted.

(x) E.g. in Rgveda, Bk X, 108.

(o) There are isolated passages in the Rgveda, alluding to these persons and their wars with Aryan Rajans; particulars relating to them are not known.

and chiefs, if need be, were formed in order to resist the aggression of such intruders. An example of this kind of alliance is to be seen in the Dāśarājña Battle, better known as the War of Ten Kings. It was fought between King Sudās and a confederacy of Ten Kings on the banks of the river Parushnī or Ravi in the heart of the Panjab Proper, and may be regarded the first battle known in Indian history. That this was a real historical event is needless to question; it is the subject of three hymns in the R̥gveda by Vasishtha or the Vasishthas (Ek VII, 18, 33; and 83) (*). From the account of the War it is amazing to find that almost the whole of the Indus Valley was involved in this engagement. Of Sudās's ten adversaries five were kings belonging to the pañcha-janāh, and the other five chiefs of the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, Sivas and Vishānins. (x) These Allies had also on their side a few non-Aryan tribes, such as possibly the Ajas,

(*) The hymn 33 in Ek III composed by Viśvāmitra is sometimes taken as referring to this war. But this only shows that at one time Viśvāmitra was King Sudās's spiritual advisor (Purāhita), and accompanied him in his victorious raids over the Vipās (Bias) and the Sutudrī (Satluj). There is no need to doubt that Viśvāmitra and Vasishtha were spiritual advisors of Sudās at different periods in his affairs of the Trtsu-Bharata State.

(x) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p 82.

Sigrus and Yakshus. Sudās, on the other hand, was single-handed and met the united forces of the Allies with adequate preparation.

But in spite of the fact that the War is described fully in one of the three hymns quoted above and briefly in two others, details are lacking that would enable us to form a complete picture of the event. The hymns in question have, in fact, for their main object the acknowledgement of divine aid for Sudās's victory, procured by the invocation of the Purohita. (*) We cannot, therefore, expect a detailed and connected description from such hymns. It is indeed our luck (thanks to Rshi Vasishtha) that some details of the War happen to be recorded and preserved in the Rgveda Samhitā. The account of this war which is thus available in fragments only shows that Sudās achieved victory over the Allies, who were miserably defeated. (§) The most important event worthy of note is that the Allies tried to overcome Sudās's army by making a breach in the dam of the Ravi or by some device, but they were themselves either killed or carried away by the waters. We shall here reproduce the relevant stanzas of

(*) Read specially Bk VII, 18, 17; Bk VII, 83, 1 and 8.

(§) For other minor events see Bk VII, 18.

the hymn (Bk VII, 18) describing the War proper in Dr.L.D.

(*)

Barnett's translation:-

8. "Evil of purpose, senseless, seeking to dry up holy Parushnī, they pierced her. He, holding earth in lordship by his might, encompassed it; he who deemed himself a sage lay prostrate (like) a beast.

9. They went as to a goal to destruction, to Parushnī; not even the swift returned home. Indra gave over to Sudās the swiftly fleeing foes unmanly of speech among mankind.

11. The king who from desire of fame scattered twenty-one peoples of the two Vaikāṇas (was Sudās); valiant Indra caused them to be swept away, as a cunning (priest) cuts up the sacred grass in the seat (of sacrifice).

12. Then the famed ancient Kavasha and next the Druhyu didst thou, O wielder of the thunderbolt, hurl down into the waters. There they who exulted in following thee, seeking thee, claimed friendship for friendship."

(*) By private communication. The stanzas read as follows:-

8 durādhyo aditum sreṇvayanto 'chetaso vi jagṛbhre
Parushnīm, mahāvivṛak prithivīm patyamānaḥ paśuḥ Kavir
aśayachā chāyamānaḥ.

9 iyur artham na nyartham Parushnīm āśus' chāned abhipitvam
jagāma, Sudāsa Indrah sutukān amitrān arandhayan mānuṣhe
vadhṛivāchān.

11 ekam cha yo viśatim cha śravasyā Vaikarnayor janān rājā
ny astah, dasmo na sadman ni śisāti barhiḥ śuraḥ sargam
akṛnod Indra eṣam.

12 adha śrutam Kavasham vṛddham apsv anu Druhyum ni vṛnag
vajrabāhuḥ, vṛnānā ātra sakhyāya sakhyam tvāyanto ye
amadann anu tvā.

The result of this War of the Ravi was that Sudās established himself firmly in the region of the Sarasvatī, and perhaps all the important Aryan tribes, including even the powerful Pūrus, were brought under his hegemony, if only for a time. Before we proceed to give a further account of the tribe or tribes that came into prominence in the Sapta Sindhu, we have one important question to answer. It has arisen out of two or three epithets (*) which have been used by Vasishtha or the Vasishthas for the Ten Kings, obviously out of contempt for Sudās's enemies who allied themselves with Dasyus and Dāsas, but which are similar to those usually applied to non-Aryans. This, together with the fact that the rshis, including even those of the Vasishtha family, later associate the Pūrus, etc., also with Indra and other Vedic gods, has induced Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda (§) to conclude:-

1) that in the early Rgvedic ages the war of conquest waged by a homogeneous body of rshis, whom he calls Brahmans and Aryan worshippers of Indra etc, against Indra-less natives of the Indus Valley was now a thing of the forgotten past,

(*) Such as ayajyavan 'sacrifice-less' and anindrāh 'Indra-less'.

(§) A.S.I. Memoir No 41 (1929) pp 3 ff.

2) that the religion of these invading Brahman rshis was gradually accepted by the kings and the people of the Indus Valley, whose culture and civilization were then in decline, and

3) that the Rgvedic janas like Bharata, Pūru, etc., whom he calls kshatriyas, were the representatives of the Indus Valley (i.e. Chalcolithic) population.

Most of his hypothesis is expressed in his own words thus:-

"On the eve of the Aryan immigration the Indus Valley was in possession of a civilized and warlike people. The Aryans, mainly represented by the Rishi clans, came to seek their fortune in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuna, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Aryan gods against their human and non-human enemies by offering sacrifices with the recitation of hymns. Now, if the hymns of the Rigveda enable us to reconstruct the proto-history of the Indus Valley in this way, the relics of an advanced pre-historic civilization unearthed at Harappa on the Ravi and Mohenjo-daro in Sind warrant us in taking a further step and recognising in the warrior clans - the Bharatas, Pūrus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and others celebrated in the Rigveda the representatives of

the ruling class of indigenous chalcolithic population." (*)

The hypothesis, as it will be seen from his Memoir, is based mainly on the assumption that there existed a caste-system throughout the period represented by the Rgveda and the diversity of castes was due to fundamental cultural differences between the Aryan rishis, i.e. Brahmins, on the one hand and the rest of the classes, castes according to the Rai Bahadur, on the other. But firstly, there is no evidence in the Rgveda which can prove that there was caste at such an early date in the sense understood by him. The solitary mention of caste in one passage, (¶) which is very late in date, cannot support the hypothesis. In Rgvedic times, as we shall show elsewhere, the divisions of Brahmin, Kshatriya, etc., were social and vocational, and not based on caste, i.e. on religious separation, though they were already tending to become so. Even in epic times instances of passage from one caste to another occur. And even if there were cultural differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, that does not prove that they were different races. The older Avesta (and perhaps Bogha-Kōi) shows the Rgvedic

(*) Ibid, p. 25.

(¶) Rgveda, Bk X, 90, 12. All scholars agree to the whole hymn being comparatively modern, and it is quite possible that the passage in question may be an interpolation made in the hymn at still a later age.

religion and language to be purely Aryan, with practically no non-Aryan influences, which would certainly have revealed themselves if the ṛgveda had been composed in a non-Aryan society for the service of non-Aryans. Secondly, it is important to note that there is very little trace of pre-Aryan culture in the ṛgveda, except for a few vague references, which do not indicate any close contact between the rshis and the non-Aryans. Thirdly, if such a theory were accepted, we must suppose that the ṛgveda would have been understood by the non-Aryans, which is difficult to reconcile with the well-known fact that the language of the Veda is Sanskrit, which is of Indo-European origin and does not belong to any of the non-Aryan families of speech known to have been in use in India before the advent of the Aryans.

Slightly different are the views advanced by Slater and Pargiter, which may incidentally be mentioned here.

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In the opinion of the former there was an age when heliolithic culture was introduced into India from Egypt. (§)

(*) The Dravidian Element is Indian Culture, London 1924, Chapters I and II and pp 157 ff.

(§) Heliolithic culture is said to have spread over Indonesia and elsewhere; its special features being divine descent of rulers and worship of the sun and the serpent.

The bringers of this culture "mingled their blood with the Dravidians in India, and the result was the Brahman caste", which, on the arrival of the Aryans, adopted their "allegedly easier" language Sanskrit and thereby became rshis of Vedic hymns and the leaders of the Aryans. This theory of the Egypto-Dravidian origin of Brahmins is wholly problematical and contrary to all Indian tradition. The rshis of the Rgveda (it is wrong to call them Brahmins) were Aryan par excellence both in blood and culture, and there is no justification whatever for discounting the just claim of their descendants to Aryan connection. The same applies to the theory of Pargiter, which, though based on tradition preserved in the Epics and Purāṇas, is contrary to its spirit and also to that of Vedic tradition. He says that in the War of Ten Kings Sudās, an Arya (Aila) king, and his Aila opponents were all led by their respective Brahmins. These Brahmins, it is alleged, were originally connected with the non-Aryan people (Mānavas or Dravidians) and were now established among the Ailas, i.e. Aryans, who were later

(*) Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Chapters xxv and xxvi.

(§) The use of the word Brahmin for rshi is altogether misleading. There is not a shadow of evidence that the rshis of the Rgveda were a Brahmin caste of their own.

immigrants into the whole northern India. As a result of this contact the Aryans were, in course of time, Brahmanized both in blood and culture, so that the most ancient (Mānava) kings and their rshis or Brahmans to whom the hymns of the ṛgveda are attributed, were not Aryan. This theory is palpably artificial and improbable. Pargiter's attempt to equate Aila with Arya is moonshine. This phonetic equation Aila - Aida = Arya will not stand. The language and religion of the ṛgveda are genuinely Aryan, just as much so in the hymns of 'Manava' rshis as in the rest.

This is a digression no doubt but a necessary and important one for the early history of the Panjab. We see that when scholars attempt to explain the racial fusion of Dravidians or any foreigners with the Aryans of the Panjab (i.e. ṛgvedic Aryans), or the considerable amount of alien influence on the Sapta Sindhu civilization as revealed in the ṛgveda, they are mostly in the region of conjecture. On the other hand, weighing the several considerations pointed out in the above criticism, it may be regarded as certain that the rshis of the ṛgveda are no other than Aryan and are dealing in their hymns with their kindred and common culture. In no case these rshis formed an exclusive caste of their own; throughout the ṛgveda they are found as the men who "mixed and

married with the people, shared property with the people, fought the wars of the people, and were of the people".

We now return to the previous subject of the tribes and the fate of the Trtsu-Bharatas, who had become the most prominent in the days of Sudās. In fact, it is almost a riddle to scholars of history to divine what became of the Pañcha-janāh and the Bhavatas in Sapta Sindhu after the War of Ten Kings. Hardly any help is given by the rgveda or any other early Vedic source. However, as we pass on to the close of the Rgvedic ages, which roughly speaking come down to 1,000 B.C., it is found that some of the powerful Aryan tribes, especially those living in the Savasvatī region, had advanced towards the east of the Jumna into the Gangetic valley and were no longer confined to the Sapta Sindhu. (*)

The most famous of them was the tribe of the Kurus, who, according to Vedic and other evidence, were also known as Bharatas and Pūrus or Pauravas.

(*) These emigrating Aryans in their eastward progress, which must have been gradual (Already, as is shown by some Rgvedic passages, the distant banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, had been explored by enterprising Aryans), were probably in small numbers, as compared with those that entered the Panjab. This is supported by the disproportionate number of the former to the old population of their new land. But however few in number, they were able, through their Brahman preceptors, to place their mark upon the future of the land, the Madhya-desa of later times, by introducing the worship of their own gods, by making their hymns and rituals the basis of religion, and finally by allowing the Brahmans, as patrons of the new form of Aryanism, to elevate themselves to a sanctity but little removed from that of Deity. This subject is beyond the scope of this thesis, but so far as it has a bearing on the history of the Panjab in its later periods, we shall touch upon it again in detail in Chapter VI.

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Eminent Vedic scholars hold that after the Trtsu-Bharatas and Pūrus who had once dominated a large part of the Panjab, the powerful Kurus emerged. They fused with the Bharatas and Pūrus and established themselves as a great power. It is argued that Kurusravaṇa, shown by his name to be connected with the Kurus, is in the Ṛgveda called Trāsadasyava, (§) a patronymic after Purukutsa's son Trasadasyu. It is likely that the Trtsu-Bharatas, who appear in the Ṛgveda as enemies of the Pūrus, later merged in them to form the Kurus. This conclusion, it is added, seems inevitable, since the Bharatas appear prominently in earlier Vedic texts, while most of the later Vedic and all non-Vedic works ignore them in their list of peoples. Moreover, the Kurus are later found inhabiting the same territory as that occupied by the Trtsu-Bharatas as well as the Pūrus. More than this about the origin of the kurus we can say but little. But that little, which is mainly based on the name 'Kuru' in Kurusravaṇa, is sufficient to prove that the name is one of great importance. It seems probable that originally the name 'kuru', like Yadu, Pūru etc, designated a

(*) Oldenberg, Buddha: his life, his doctrine, his Order, Translated from German by William Hoey 1882, pp 403-4; 406-9. Macdonell and Keith in Vedic Index, Vol I. pp 165 ff (§) Ek V, 33,4; 32, 9.

separate Aryan tribe, which rose to considerable importance after a time in the east of the Sapta Sindhu. From what actual part of this country the tribe first emigrated is a question still involved in obscurity.

(*) The passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in which the utara-Kurus and utara-Madras are mentioned as living upon the hills (pareṇa Hima-avantam), may show that the earlier settlements of the Kurus lay beyond the lower hills (Siwaliks) of the Himalaya, from which they descended southward at some indeterminate period. Possibly the name of the fertile valley of Kula, the home of the ancient Kufūta or Kufūta tribe, in our north-eastern zone of the Himalayan country may preserve a trace of this old Kura colony. (§)

Of the political history of the Kurus before 1,000 B.C. we have no information from Ṛgvedic hymns, excepting one or two isolated names. Neither do these hymns help us in any way to know the political condition obtaining then in the rest of Sapta Sindhu. Moreover the little that is known from later Vedic literature in regard to that country is of no material help for the early periods; for the most part it relates to the times

(*) Ek VIII, 14, 3. See below pp 275-276.

(§) This suggestion is only a bare possibility, but it need not be rejected out of hand. Phonetically it is feasible. The alternation of l for r seems to have been characteristic of one or more Pāṣāṇī dialects (See Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, § 256), and the affix -ta is common in Prakrit proper names.

represented by various Vedic texts which are later than 1,000 B.C. Fortunately, however, we possess reminiscences (nothing more than that) of certain names and events connected with the federated Puru-Kuru people in later tradition. These are best preserved in the Great Epic, the Mahābhārata, in which the chief interest centres round the war between the Aryan Kurus (or Kauravas) and a clan closely related to them, called Pāndus (or Pāndavas). This war is better known as the Bhārata War, the name again indicating the connection of the Kurus with the ancient Bharatas. (*)

But the Mahābhārata, it must be noted, is not an epic with a single subject or by a single author. It consists in its present form of one hundred thousand ślokas, 'verses' divided into eighteen lengthy parvas, 'Books.' Of this only a fifth part is concerned with the main story of the War, together with some account of the ancestors of the major heroes taking part in it; the rest is interspersed with innumerable digressions - episodes, treatises on government, morals, philosophy and theology. (§)

(*) Not necessarily as descendants of Bharata or the Bharatas, as generally understood.

(§) All these digressions added to the story are of great value. For if it be the function of history to reveal to us along with political conditions the cultural life of earlier days and make us acquainted with thoughts, ideals and aspirations of former generations, then the Mahābhārata is a solid contribution to historical literature. But our difficulty is that the Epic in its present form, having been thoroughly and frequently recast outside the Panjab, does not represent the epoch with which we are dealing or even the real culture of that country.

Most scholars now agree that this Epic has passed through several stages of construction and reconstruction at different times and by different editors whose names, like that of the original author, have not been preserved, and that as such it can not be regarded as representing the original form of the Epic story. (*) But it has been observed that in the process of this development the rough edges of the old Bhārata poem, which must be dated before the fourth century B.C., whatever be its original background, have not always and everywhere been polished

(*) See on the origin and development of the Mahābhārata E.W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, 1901, Chapter Five, pp 363-85. Elsewhere in this book (pp 397-98) the author has stated that the Mahābhārata had become, owing to these additions, a specially religious propaganda work by 400 A.D.

It is worthy of note that we are told in the Mahābhārata itself (Ādiparva) that the Epic was recited on three different occasions. The last reciter, Sauti, tells us (1) that the Bhārata poem at first had only 8,800 ślokas composed by Rshi Krshna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (This, however, is no admission on our part that the poem was his composition); (2) that a number of upākhyānas 'episodes' were afterwards added to it by a pupil of Vyasa, named Vaiśampāyana, making the total up to 24,000 ślokas; and (3) that the poem had its third recension at the recital made by him. Whether or no this tradition, recorded in the Ādiparva, is to be believed, we may say that the original poem was more or less the story of the war, and the various additions which gradually were attached to it finally transformed it into a Great Bhārata (Mahābhārata).

(*)

by the later editors. Much of the interpolated matter, we must remember, is only to be found in the first Book (Ādiparva with its introduction) and the last Books (Śāntiparva, etc.), together with the Harivaṃśa, that heterogeneous supplement in three lengthy Books. To these may be added the Bhagavadgītā of Book VI (Bhīṣma-parva) and similar episodes here and there in other Books of the Epic.

The origin of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, as described in the revised Mahābhārata (and followed by the Purāṇas), is undoubtedly mythical. We have the names of their (§) ancestors in the genealogy found in two places of Ādiparva. But much of this seems to be incorrect; these genealogical lists are not only "different and mutually inconsistent", but they contain fictitious names and are "manifestly confused". It is indeed very doubtful if any reliance can be placed on them, and on the later tradition of the Ādiparva especially, most of which is beyond doubt a much later interpolation, no faith can be reposed.

(*) In the narrative part of the Mahābhārata, excluding later insertions, there are glimpses of society very different from that found in the fourth century B.C. and after. In the Gṛhya Sūtra (III,4) of Āśvatāyana, who is generally dated not later than the third century B.C., there is talk of an earlier recension of the Epic; here a Bhārata is mentioned alongside a Mahābhārata.

(§) Chapter xciv, verses 3695-3720; Chapter xcv, verses 3764-89. The early part of the genealogy is also given in chapter lxxv, verses 3149-62.

In the long lists of the ancestors enumerated in the Epic is found the name 'Kuru' as an ancient king in the Nahusha - Yayāti dynasty, to whom is attributed the foundation of the Puru-Kuru tribe. As pointed out above, this Epic connection of Nahusha-Yayāti with the five Rgvedic tribes - the Yadus, Turvaśas, Pūrus, Druhyus and Anus - is very doubtful. There is little reason to believe that Kuru, like Yadu etc., was a real person; it is again only an eponym of the tribe of the Kurus. Probably the later editors of the Mahābhārata, as well as the Paurānikas or their predecessors, the Sūtas, after Kuru and other ancestors had been invented, hitched them on to the legendary Yayāti as his descendants, so as to carry the tribe's ancestry back to the old heroes Nahusha and Yayāti. Likewise, the tribes of the Panjab, such as the Madras, Kaikeyas, Sauvīras, Ambashthas, Yaudheyas, Cāndhāras, etc., who did not come into existence till later than the Bhārata War, are stated in similar traditions of the Purānas to have descended from Anu and Druhyu, the two sons of Yayāti. Those who believe the Epic and Purānic lists to be true construct an outline of the history of India in its earlier stages from these sources. But much depends upon the point of view from which the early history is regarded in these genealogies of suspicious character. On the other hand, we know that for early periods of Indian history there

are many difficulties in supplementing the accounts of the R̥gveda with those of the later Vedic works, and still more with the accounts of the Epics and Purāṇas. How and why genealogies recorded in the latter sources are not worthy of credence for the history of the earliest times is a subject by itself requiring special treatment; it will therefore be discussed in a separate chapter.

Notwithstanding, while we get no authentic details regarding the early Puru-Kuru kings from Vedic and Epic sources, the history of their line peeps out of the dim past at the time of Śantanu. His name is found in the R̥gveda, (*) where he is spoken of as a king for whom the Kshatriya Devapi acted as hotar or sacrificial priest to him. He is again the subject of a tale in Yāska's (§) Nirukta, where it is stated that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers, Devāpi being the elder, and that they belonged to the Kuru dynasty; so also in the Purāṇas. (x) There is no serious ground for doubting the essential truth of the Vedic and Purāṇic tradition about both of them. Devāpi and Śantanu belong to quite historical times, not

(*) Ek X, 98, 27.

(§) II, 10. Cf. Brhaddevata, VII, p 148 ff and 155 ff.

(x) E.g. Matsya Purāṇa, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Chapter I, p 152.

very long before the Bhārata War, and the early Epic tradition definitely knows them as brothers and puts them in the Puru-Kuru dynasty. The Mahābhārata says that Devāpi was not allowed to reign because he had a skin-disease; (*) that may have been a reason for his taking to religion, a common practice in India even at the present day. But it must be noted that both these Kuru brothers, though shown in the Epic and Purānic genealogies as such, were probably not the sons of Pratīpa, who seems to have come late after the War, later than Parīkshit, being his great grandson in the Epic genealogies. (§)

This historical king Santanu, according to the Mahābhārata account in the Ādiparva, had two wives - Gaṅgā and Satyavatī. Bhīshma was the eldest son by Gaṅgā, and Vichitravīrya and Chitrāṅgada were his sons by Satyavatī. It is stated that Bhīshma carried off Ambā, a daughter of a king of Kāśī (Benares), with her two sisters Ambikā and Ambalikā. Amba remained constant to her husband, called in the Mahābhārata Śalva, and obtained her release by saying that she was engaged to be married to him, while the other two sisters became the wives of Vichitravīrya, the second son of Santanu. These two sisters, on

(*) Bk V (Udyogaparva), Chapter cxlix, 15 ff.

(§) Cf Vedic Index, Vol II, p.33.

Vichitravīrya's death without any heir, became, by R̥shi
 (*)
 Vyāsa mothers of Dhṛtarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu, the fathers of
 the heroes of the Bhārata War - Kurus (Kauravas) and
 Pāṇḍus (Pāṇḍavas) respectively; Ambikā was the mother of
 (§)
 Dhṛtarāshṭra and Ambalikā of Pāṇḍu.

This is only a brief account of the immediate predecessors of the Epic heroes; there are also many romantic and strange stories told in the late Ādiparva about their marriages which no one would believe. In fact, we do not vouch for the authenticity of these narratives of marital relations in the case of either Dhṛtavāshṭra or Pāṇḍu, of whom the former is said to have married Gāndhārī, the daughter of Subala, king of the Gāndhāras, and the latter to have espoused Kuntī, an Avanti princess, and Mādrī, a princess from the Panjab Proper, the daughter of Śalya, king of the Madras.

Historically viewed, these relations in the main seem

(*) This R̥shi, the supposed author of the Mahābhārata, is said to have been the son of R̥shi Parāśara by Satyawatī before she married Santanu.

(§) Holtzmann (Das Mahābhārata, Vol I, p 156; Vol II, p 174) has advanced weighty reasons for concluding that Bhīshma, the grand uncle of the Pāṇḍavas, and not R̥shi Vyāsa, was the real ancestor of the five princes, having been appointed to marry his half-brother's wife. The practice of Niyoga, similar to the levirate, allowed the sonless widow to bear a child to her brother-in-law on her husband's death, so as to continue the family. In the early law Books the custom was restricted by very definite direction. It was not until the time of the revised Epic that the Brahman editors made efforts to become the privileged partners of sonless wives or widows.

to be very doubtful, being invented later to justify certain purposes, and especially to show that the War, as described in the later revision of the Epic, was a regular conflict of nations from all parts of India. How false and fictitious such alliances might be may be judged from a very curious story in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva, Chapter CXXI) about Vyushitāśva and Bhadrā, who is said to have been the ancestress of the Madras and Śālvās, important people in the Panjab, together with their kindred tribes. It seems to us most likely that the Bhādras (probably, as already suggested, the same as Bahlikas or Bāhlikas (old Indo-Aryan Bhadrīka, Bhallika) originally claimed to be descendants of a hero Bhadrā, while the other kindred tribes Śālvās asserted that they had for ancestor Vyushitāśva. Then, when the league of Panjabi tribes under the hegemony of one of them (Śālvās) was formed, an attempt was made to show that all the tribes in the league were of the same parentage, and hence a myth was invented which gave Vyushitāśva as the original father of them all and made the masculine Bhadrā into a feminine Bhadrā, who was turned into the wife of Vyushitāśva.

However, from these and other fictions and unhistorical elements, examples of which are numerous, we need not think that the whole epic is a myth. The gambling

(dyūta), the battle (yuddha), etc., of the story are in all probability epic elements, though their accounts are now found related at great length and with exaggerations mingled with irrelevant matter. But the fact that early Vedic tradition knows nothing of the Bhārata War does not preclude the possibility of its having actually taken place in an age of history. Rather there are some hints in Vedic literature which seem clearly to point to such an event. For example, there seems to be a distinct reference to a Kuru War in the old verse fragment preserved (*) in Chhāndogya Upanishad, while the Atharvaveda, the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmanas, and the Brhadāranyaka Upanishad know of Parīkshit and Janamejaya, who immediately succeeded the Epic heroes and are much spoken of in connection with the glorious janapada of the Kurus. The reason why the Bhārata War is not expressly mentioned in the Vedic texts, which are purely religious, is perhaps that the story originally described only the fighting of the cousins, which may have been sanguinary but unlike its predecessor, the War of Ten Kings, had no proper

(*) yato yata āvartate tad tad gachhati mānavah

kurūn āśvā'bhīrakshati, (IV, 17, 9).

Cf. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, 1901, p 385.

rshi or Vedic poet to immortalize it in his hymns. We must admit that the rival parties in the conflict were the Dhārtarāshṭras, sons of Dhṛtarāshṭra, and the Pāṇḍavas, sons of Pāṇḍu, that is to say, the two clans in the ruling Puru-Kuru line, (*) the Pandus ultimately gaining ascendancy with the assistance of their neighbours; the Pañchālas. Critical investigators in Europe and America have seen in the epic heroes real men, though not all contemporaneous, and have not denied that the incidents of the War related in the present Mahābhārata, no matter how much exaggerated and distorted they may be, have a background of actual historical fact dimly remembered in tradition. (§)

Thus, when we read in the Epic of a war that shook heaven and earth to their foundations, we need not think of a war in which whole races of India were engaged as belligerents. To what extent the original story may be founded upon historical events is thus explained by Paul Masson-Oursel and his two colleagues: "The scene of the conflict lies further east than the country in which the Rigveda came into being; this proves that the Aryans had advanced eastward in the interval. Kurukshetra, the

(*) It is worthy of note that the Pandavas have the same name as the Kauravas. They are often called Kurus in the Mahābhārata.

(§) Winternitz, loc.cit. pp 454 ff and Hopkins in Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter XI, p 275.

"Field of the Kurus", lies on the edge of the Ganges basin, near the west bank of the Jumna, in that district north of Delhi, the ancient Indraprastha, where many decisive battles have been fought. The Kauravas, the champions of the Kuru cause, the hundred sons of Dhritarāshtra, led by Duryodhana, fight the five Pāndavas, the sons of Dhritarāshtra's brother, Pāndu, led by Yudhishtira, for eighteen days near Thanesar. The former army comprises troops from eastern Bihar, Bengal, the Himalaya, and the Punjab; in the second are warriors from regions which are now western Bihar, Agra, Oudh, Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Dravidian states of the south. Although the whole of ancient India is thus represented as embroiled in this war, it is plain that the conflict centres on the rivalry of two closely related Aryan clans, fighting for the possession of the Doab." (*)

No one therefore need be surprised at the absence of traces of an actual battle and its incidents. This, as we can now easily understand, is due to the frequent manipulations of the old text made with certain definite religious aims, with which the later editors have been actuated. A careful study of the Mahābhārata will at once show that the

(*) A kind of "Mesopotamia" lying between the Ganges and Jumna. See Ancient India and Indian Civilization, translated from French, (London 1934), pp 20-21.

authors of interpolations wanted to tell a dramatic and stirring story of a war between dharma 'Good' and adharma 'Evil' with the triumph of Good, and that in order to achieve their object they recast the story of the Bhārata War and the defeat of the Kurus, so as to make the defeated Kurus the representatives of Evil, and the triumphant Pāṇḍus the champions of Good. Nevertheless, there is no justification for calling the original Bhārata a mere imagination of a poet; it is virtually based on some historical elements which may well have existed as far back as the close of the Vedic age.

We shall not stop here to relate the story of the Mahābhārata. It is largely outside our scope and too familiar and too long to be given here. Moreover, an account of the War as recorded in its present form would be out of order in a thesis of history. Attempts are (*) being made to reconstruct the authentic text of Mahābhārata; but so far as the original story of the War is concerned, it is doubtful whether the effort to restore it will succeed, since the tale had come down in a much changed form even at the earliest stage of composition. The curious reader, however, will find helpful the summary of the Epic story given by Winternitz in the section on

(*) In this direction the most notable attempt is the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, which is in course of preparation by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Bombay).

the Mahābhārata in his History of Sanskrit literature.

From what has been stated above, it is apparent that we shall seek in vain in the Mahābhārata for the real incidents of the Kurukshetra War. According to the revised version, the Kauravas allied themselves with many hosts from far and near, and the attitude of the Panjab was distinctly against the Pāṇḍavas. Those who are stated to have joined this so-called Great War from the Panjab on the side of the Kurus were the Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Yavanas, Śakas, Bāhlika - Madras, Vasātis, (§) Kaikeyas, Sindhus and Sauvāras, Trigartas and Ambashthas, - all unknown to early Vedic tradition. But it must be noted that this is only an instance of later history confused with the past, as is clear from the references to participation in the War by foreigners like the Yavanas and Śakas, who did not appear on the stage of Panjab history before the fifth and second century B.C. respectively.

Nevertheless, it need hardly be doubted that the people of the Panjab were still connected socially and politically with the Pura-Kurus in the east, though the

(*) Loc.cit., pp 327 ff.

(§) Legendary accounts of the respective parts said to have been taken by them in the War will be found in several passages in the Mahābhārata, especially Bk V (Udyogaparva), Bk VI (Bhishmaparva), Bk VIII (Kasnaparva) and Bk IX (Salyaparva).

latter were now somewhat cut off from the parent stock in the Panjab. Their mutual social relations are best illustrated by an old Epic tradition, supported by the Jātaka, to the effect that epic heroes married into the royal houses of the Panjab, and regarded such alliances as quite proper, recognising the equality of the aristocracies of the Panjab with the Puru-Kurus of the east. It was only later that some orthodox Brahmans of the Madhya-deśa showed their disapproval of social conditions in the Panjab by launching an anti-Panjabi propaganda. As an indication of political relations between Panjabis and Puru-Kurus at this early stage may be quoted the śloka (1364) in old trishtubh metre from Bk III (Vanaparva), chapter xxxiv:

Charais' chen nō viditah kālam etam yukto Rājan
mohayitvā madiyān,

bravīmi satyam Kuru-samsadīha tavaiva tā Bhārata
Pañcha-nadyah.

It is quite possible that about the close of the Rgvedic period when the Puru-Kurus were very strong, they may have enjoyed a hegemony over many tribes in the Panjab and that the original version of the poem, now no longer traceable, perhaps contained more information about that country than the present epic, which is almost of non-Panjabi character.

Any account of the Puru-Kurus, or Pauravas as they are sometimes called, would be incomplete without a

reference to the date of the Bhārata War. It has been discussed by various scholars in India and abroad with different considerations of its importance. To us the story of the War, whatever be its present form, is an echo of old historic events that distinctly marks an epoch in the history of the Sapta Sindhu Aryans who migrated eastward. It thus represents a movement of great importance among the Aryans living in the Land of Seven Rivers. Again, the descendants of these adventurous ancient Panjabis have played a great part in the political and cultural developments of mid-India in later times, which have also had a bearing on those of the western region. Furthermore, the War was fought within the eastern confines of the Panjab. It is for these reasons that the question of its date deserves our special attention. Unfortunately, however, we have no reliable sources that may give us conclusive evidence necessary on the subject. There are only some late traditions on the basis of which several attempts have been made of recent years to fix the date of the War, viz:-

(1) The tradition or traditions in the Purānas, regarding the total number of generations of kings or the reign periods of different dynasties, who are said to have ruled after the Bhārata War and before a definitely historical person like Chandragupta

Maurya. These variously state the time-interval between him and the War, and give us as the date of the event the year 1937 B.C., according to the maximum interval, or the year 1442 B.C., according to the minimum interval.

(2) The Vṛddha-Garga tradition (between 250 and 350 A.D.) in the Gārgī Saṃhitā, according to which the War was fought about 2500 B.C., and the Āryabhata tradition (5th century A.D.) in his Daśagītikā, which fixes the date 3101 B.C.

As regards the second group of traditions, it may be said that they are based on astronomical data, which are uncertain. Their reckonings are conflicting and cannot have scientific precision, nor do they favourably compare with historical times. Therefore they are rightly rejected as myths created by later astronomers and astrologers with a definite purpose of glorifying the ancient events and giving them extravagant antiquity. The Mahābhārata itself says that the War was fought at the junction of the Dvāpara and Kali Ages. But these Ages of late tradition being imaginary, no chronological reckoning based on them is possible at all. There is no evidence to show that at the time of the War the Kali Era was ever current in India. The year 3735 also stated in the Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II (7th century A.D.) as the date of the Bhārata

War seems to have been invented on an untrustworthy astronomical calculation.

The main source for investigation of the date is thus the Purāṇic genealogies of kings and dynasties. But this tradition in the Purāṇas, it must be borne in mind, is not early as that of the Vedic texts; we have to deal here with a tradition recorded at an uncertain date, not certainly earlier than 300 A.D. Its historical value, so far as it relates to very ancient, i.e., pre-War kings, is very little, because the genealogies are mostly the results of manipulation, corruption and reconstruction on the part of authors of the Purāṇas, as we shall show below. Generally speaking, "it seems impossible to bring the Purāṇic genealogies into any satisfactory relation with Vedic literature or with one another until we approach the period at which they profess to have been recited, that is to say, the reign of Parīkshit in the case of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and the reign of Adhisīmakṛshṇa in the case of most of the others." These later genealogies, though incomplete, are, however, considered by critical scholars to be mainly historical, as there are statements found in them about the reign periods of kings, which are given both severally and collectively and also about the total number of kings' generations in various dynasties ruling contemporaneously with one another.

Perhaps the most important contribution to this question of chronology of the Bharata War is that of Pargiter, (*) who, while admitting the character of real chronicling behind the genealogies, concluded on closer examination that the reign periods, wherever assigned to individual kings or total periods of the dynasties, had been very much exaggerated by the Purāṇas. He, therefore, took his stand on their comparatively reliable tradition about the number of kings in each dynasty contemporary with those of Magadha, that are available therein and computed the probable length of each reign on average method, taking the beginning of Chandragupta Maurya's reign to be 322 B.C. This has been done by him as follows:

(§) The Matsya Purāṇa mentions the number of kings in other dynasties that reigned contemporaneously with the Magadha line from Senajit to Mahāpadma. It says, "There will reign 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 Kāśis, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kalingas, 25 Āśmakas, 25 Kurus (Pauravas), 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas and 20 Vītihotras. All these kings will endure the same time and will be contemporaries." That these are contemporaries from the time of Bṛhadratha

(*) Loc.cit. Chap.XV, pp 179 ff.

(§) Cf. Pargiter Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford 1913, pp 23-24 and 69.

Senajit of Magadha onwards and not from Sahadeva, i.e., the time of the War, is evident from the use of the future tense; for the Purāṇas, with the exception of the Vishnu Purāṇa, profess to have been composed at the time of Senajit's contemporary, the Paurava Adhisimakṛṣṇa. The kings who came after are named in the form of a prophecy. Hence our initial point is the extermination of an older Magadha line by Mahāpadma. This latter event Pargiter places in 382 B.C., sixty years before Chandragupta's accession.

For the intervening period between the initial and final points, we have according to the Matsya 257 kings in ten dynasties, that is an average of about 26 in each. Now there must have been reigns of much greater length than others; and we find that the largest average of reigns must have been among the Vītihotras, who had only 20 in the period; while the shortest was among the Kalingas, who had 32. So Pargiter argues: 20 long reigns = 32 short reigns = 26 medium reigns, and to obtain the proportion : longest average : shortest average : medium average :: 26 : $16\frac{1}{4}$: 20. From an examination of various records, he found that the longest average was about 24 and the shortest about 12 years; while the average of all kings was 19 years. Hence assigning 18 years to an average reign, he gets 26×18 , that is, 468 years and this

enables him to place Senajit, Adhisīmakṛshṇa and their Kosalan contemporary, Divākara, in 850 B.C. (468 plus 382). In the Magadha dynasty, the average would work out at about $14\frac{1}{2}$ years per reign, and the shortness may be justified by the violence which too often led to the overthrow of the kings. Between the kings in whose reigns the Purāṇas are taken to be composed and the War, there are 5 kings in the Paurava dynasty, 4 in the Aikshvāku and 6 in the Bārhadratha, that is, an average of 5. This period may be taken to be about 100 years, which would place the War in about 950 B.C. This is Pargiter's conclusion about the date of the Bhārata War, but as it is based on average length of reigns, it needs verification, which is not forthcoming. It therefore remains hypothetical reckoning as yet, though very probably near the truth.

Besides these traditions, another way of attempting to fix the date is to see if there is a definite mention anywhere of a Bhārata figure in Vedic literature. A king Parīkshit is mentioned in the last and the latest book of the Atharvaveda, as ruling in the kingdom of the Kurus, in which peace and prosperity abounded during his regime.

(*) As Parīkshit is stated in the Mahābhārata to have been

(*) Bk XVI (Mausalaparva): "Shatṭrimśe tvatha samprāpte varshe, Chapter I, verse 13. etc.,

Bk XVII Mahā-prasthanīkaparva): "Abhishichya svarājye

cha rājānañcha Parīkshitam", - Chapter I, verse 7.

installed to the throne at Hastināpura more than 36 years after the Bhārata War, it is fairly safe on this almost sure Vedic evidence to conclude, as suggested by Prof. Rapson, that the War perhaps took place early in the period represented by the Brāhmanas, which is usually dated by scholars about 1000 B.C., being distinguished from that of the Rgvedic civilization. (*) The date 1000 B.C. is supported by the evidence of Jain legend to some extent. Mahāvīra, the Tīrthāṅkara, died in 527 B.C., or thereabouts. His predecessor Pārśvanātha is believed to have died in 776 B.C., 250 years before the death of Mahāvīra. (§) Pārśvanātha's predecessor Neminātha was, according to legend, a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, and thus a contemporary of the Bhārata War. Allowing a period of between 200 and 250 years between each Tīrthāṅkara, this brings Neminātha and the War to about 1000 B.C. However, we shall tentatively accept this date for the purpose of our history, admitting of course that the real date has yet to be brought to light.

Among Indian scholars the distinguished historian of ancient India Dr. Raychaudhuri, (x) while saying there is no

(*) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Chapter XIII, pp 306-7.

(§) Ibid. Chapter VI, pp. 153, 155.

(x) Political History of Ancient India, Third Edition, pp 20 to 22.

unanimity regarding the date of the Bhārata War in tradition, however believes that Vedic evidence points to a much later date for Parīkshit and consequently for the Bhārata War. His argument is briefly this: Uddālaka Ārini was a contemporary of Janaka of Mithilā. This Uddalaka was separated from Janamejaya by five or six generations and from Śāṅkhāyana, the author of Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra, by two generations. Śāṅkhāyana was a contemporary of the famous Vedic scholar, Āśvalāyana, who again was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and therefore lived in the sixth century B.C. So seven or eight generations or some three centuries (this computation is based on Rhys Davids' probable chronology of 150 years assigned to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda) intervened between Janamejaya, or his father Parīkshit, and the sixth century B.C. The Bhārata War therefore took place somewhere in (600 plus 300) the ninth century B.C. It may be noted that this argument of Dr Raychaudhuri based on generations of scholars (Uddālaka-Śāṅkhāyana-Āśvalāyana) is very treacherous, for, first, there may well have been more than one Āśvalāyana and more than one Śāṅkhāyana, and, secondly, a scholar may be much younger than his Guru. (*)

(*) On the other hand we have still in India scholars like K.P. Jayaswal and R.K. Mookerji, who favour early dates and place the War about the middle of the second millenium B.C. They all work on the discrepant statements in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, which variously state that the time-interval between the birth of Parīkshit, which occurred soon after the War and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda,

(continued) was either 1015, 1050, 1115 or even 1510 years.

As these traditional figures would give impossible and improbable average reign lengths, when tested by real historical averages, the modern critics attach little importance to them and brush them aside altogether.

Chapter IV.

Aryan Culture in the Sapta Sindhu.

Here we propose to trace the Sapta Sindhu culture as known from the writings of the Aryans relating to the early periods of their history. Its history is particularly fascinating, and is chiefly based on the study of Rgvedic hymns, the bulk of which, as seen in the preceding chapter, was composed on banks of the Seven Rivers. Nowhere perhaps in the world has an ancient people left such varied and abundant material as the ancient Aryans. But we have always to remember that not all Aryans were religious - worshippers and sacrificers or philosophers in search of the truth. Some were in search of lands, some in search of a protector and some merely in search of amusements. From the Rgveda we know what their life was in respect of home and occupations, what sort of society they lived in, what religious practices they observed and so forth. All these we find not as mere shells of a dead culture, as in the Chalcolithic Panjab, but palpitating with life as expressing the vitality of highly cultivated people. Nor is the culture revealed to us from the Rgveda Samhita the only culture followed among them; much of it is lost to us, for there are no further records available to-day. Even the rivers of the Panjab, which have of late yielded many remains of pre-Aryan age, already noticed above,

have up till now given us no site or any monument that can definitely be assigned to the early Aryans of Sapta Sindhu.

Then there are the old inhabitants to be remembered. The Aryans when they came to the Indus valley and spread over the whole of the Panjab, had to meet a people which also was civilized. The culture of the latter did not all at once become extinct after the Aryan advent. It must have continued for a long time side by side until the expulsion of the pre-existing people from Sapta Sindhu, and must also have affected the life and society of the Aryans as the natural result of the contact between the two peoples. The contributions of the pre-Aryans to the religion and society of India are not generally recognised. But the *Rgveda Samhitā* practically contains very slight trace of the pre-Aryan institutions - beliefs, practices and usages - and their influence on the Aryans. So far as the religion of the *Rgveda* is concerned, it is rather believed that the hymns give information only about a part of the beliefs and practices cultivated in a restricted circle of the Aryan world and ignore many others, both mixed as well as non-Aryan, either from partnership, or because of the special purpose at which the authors aimed in the hymns. Yet certain institutions ignored in the *Rgveda* appear later in Vedic literature, which, however, being on the whole a product of regions outside the Panjab does not directly reflect the state of society in

(*) that country. Of the later Vedic texts the Atharvaveda is of special use. This Veda which is accepted on all hands as having been composed and put together in the Gangetic valley, and is the last of the Vedas, (§) deals partly with culture which is different from and much older than that depicted in the Rgveda. Its chief value lies in presenting to us some of the superstitions and beliefs of non-Aryan people that probably influenced the religious ideas of the Aryans in the territory of its composition, but which were probably not dissimilar to those held by the non-Aryans in the North-West India of Chalcolithic times, with whom the Aryans first came in contact when

(*) It is true that a detailed account of Aryan society lies in the other three Samhitās, so far as they are independent of the Rgveda, the Brāhmanas, Kalpasūtras - Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma - and also in three branches of the works of Smṛti on ceremonial practices, penances and legal relations, but these works were composed in later times and in different parts of the country, other than the Panjab. Moreover in this literature, extending as it does over many centuries, we have new interpretations of ancient institutions so as to accommodate the requirements of the new society and changes in social conditions in the course of time, which can easily be traced. At one time these works were the source and authority for social life of the Rgvedic Aryans. It is still the view of some educated and uneducated alike even now that, though there have been rise and fall in the political fortunes of the Hindus, matters like religious practices, forms of worship, beliefs, etc. have not changed at all. The proof of the baselessness of such a view lies in the history of the enormous literature on the point. The world in which we live is a flux, a series of phenomenal changes. There is nothing strange in this, for all ancient things drop off with the lapse of time and the change of circumstances and environments. From this law of change our ancient Aryans have not been exempt. Rgvedic society did really fade into the dim past together with the customs, manners and usages that marked it in the Sapta Sindhu itself; not to speak of the countries colonized later. Unhappily, for the various social changes that in post-Rgvedic times came over the Panjab we possess no record, inasmuch as apparently there are extant no

(continued)

they occupied the valley of the Indus. Most of these secular details very likely contain old-world beliefs of the pre-Aryans, who were formerly ^{spreading} over the north of India, Sapta Sindhu included - the beliefs which the Aryans gradually adopted as a result of mutual contact. It is perhaps on account of these foreign elements in it that this Veda was not for a long time allowed to rank with the other three Vedas. Even to-day the Brahmins of South India do not look upon it as a regular Veda, nor accept its authority as equal to that of the other three Vedas.

A word or two here on the translation and interpretation of the Vedas is necessary. Their study for the purposes of the cultural history is based on modern critical Vedic scholarship, which applies "the evidence of the Avesta, of Comparative Philology, of Comparative Mythology, of the anthropology of ancient peoples, besides the application of the historical method to traditional evidence as well as to Classical Sanskrit as throwing light on the Veda." The knowledge of Aryan culture in the Sapta Sindhu

Notes continued) literary works belonging to it, such as exist for the country on the east of it.

(§) The Aryans had spread as far as Bihar and Bengal far beyond the lands mentioned in the Atharvaveda. This Veda, largely independent of the Rgveda, was not recognized as a regular Veda for many centuries. The Indian literary tradition speaks of trayī vidyā contained in the Rgveda, Sāmaveda and Yajurveda. (Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*) The Atharvaveda proves that the India of its period was one in which non-Aryan and Vedic ideas were blended. The text of the Veda exists in two recensions - the Saunaka and Paippalāda -, the former being better preserved of the two. Its twenty two books contain 731 hymns in all.

in the earliest ages, based on fanciful and occasional Vedic passages in the Brāhmanas, (*) etymological explanations of isolated Vedic passages in Yāska's Nirukta (§) and Sāyanasharya's commentary (o) of the Vedas, cannot possibly be satisfactory. All the early writers were removed both in language and thought from the atmosphere prevailing in the period represented by ancient hymn-literature. The gap between Vedic poets and the interpreters in the time of the Brāhmanas must have been very considerable, and even more so in the time of Yāska, who quotes in his Nirukta the opinion held by one of his predecessors, Kautsa, "as saying that the Vedic hymns were obscure, unmeaning, and mutually contradictory." How far then modern Vedic scholars in India who do not employ the critical method of interpretation, adopted by scientific scholars of Vedic studies, understand and explain the texts aright, is a question to which each earnest student of the Vedas has to find his own answer. (x)

(*) Dated 1000-800 B.C.

(§) Dated c 600 B.C.

(o) 14th century A.D.

(x) The one most closely associated with the Panjab is Svāmī Dayananda, the founder of a religious society known as the 'Arya Samāja', which is the most powerful factor in the Panjab of to-day and has branches all over India. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and religious and social reformer of the last century (1810-1884). The Svāmī, who held distinct religious views based on the Vedas, wanted to see the ancient Aryan civilization revived though with necessary reform. The Vedas, he has maintained, were among the first things created; are revealed; teach strict monotheism (formless God); present the ideal state of culture for guidance of humanity. He has also seen in them indications of the chief scientific discoveries of modern days. (Read especially his Satyārthaprakāśa, Vedādibhāṣya-bhūmikā and translation of the Rgveda in part only). Whatever view may be taken as to the scientific value of

Of the various aspects of the Sapta Sindhu culture, it is the religion in its many details which has been described at length in the hymns of these Vedas, the chief aim of which is to embody the religious ideas of the early Aryans. Other aspects, viz., family, social, material and intellectual life, - all contributing their quota to that culture - are mostly mentioned incidentally in the hymns. We shall at first give a brief sketch of the latter, i.e., secular things said directly or implied and describe in outline the religious and spiritual life of the Aryans afterwards. Attempts have recently been made by scholars in Europe and India to discover, by a dispassionate study of literature in the light of the remains obtained from Harappa and other sites in the Indus Valley the pre-Aryan elements in this early culture. Their conclusions are also included, wherever possible and necessary, in this sketch of Aryan civilization of the Sapta Sindhu.

The Aryans, as seen above, entered the north-west of India in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. They occupied that region as successors to the Indus Valley people and made the Sapta Sindhu, 'Land of Seven Rivers,' their first home. Here they gradually evolved a highly advanced form of civilization. After having

Note continued) some of his interpretations, all must recognise the high moral and intellectual purpose inspiring his work, which has, indeed, given a new orientation to Aryanism or Vedism, and as such needs closer attention of modern scholars than it has so far received.

migrated from distant lands, they were at first for some time nomadic in their habits and as such unfitted and unprepared for organised social life. However, after a lapse of considerable time there was a change. When the hymns of the Rgveda began to be composed, the social order had assumed a definite shape; it was founded on the local division of gotra, 'clan', an aggregate of kulas, 'families'. Society was thus divided into a number of such gotras, the gentes of the Romans, ^(*) which collectively formed the jana, 'tribe'.

The Rgveda gives us a clear picture of the life in general of a jana, when it had settled down in the Valleys of the river-land. The jana, which was made up of several clans and families, spread over large territory and formed a regular settlement, vis from the root vis to 'enter' or 'settle', under the head called vispati (Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index Vol II, pp 305-307). The smallest unit in a vis was perhaps the grāma 'village', which has been constantly referred to in the Rgveda as the dwelling place of people. ^(§) The authors of Vedic Index say, "The Vedic Indians must have dwelt in villages which were scattered over the country, some close together, some far apart, and were connected by roads. The village is regu-

(*) The Jana of the Aryans, unlike the Roman gens, was a larger unit than gotra, and denoted, as shown above, a tribe in which all people had common ties of blood and claimed descent from a common ancestor.

(§) Ek I, 44,10 and 11; 94,1; 114,1; Ek II, 12,7; Ek X,149, 4, etc.

larly contrasted with the forest (aranya), and its animals and plants with those that lived or grew wild in the woods." (*) The Sapta Sindhu village might have originally contained members of a single clan, but gradually the exclusive nature of a grāma, as is observed in modern Panjab, vanished, and it comprised families of different clans, all contributing to the social life of the village. (§) The term grāma, it may be pointed out, was not always applied to a small or large village; it may have also connoted a town or city. In Sanskrit literature we come across in several places the word grama used for cities. For example grāma in the compound Vāhika-grāma (Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, II, 293 and 294) is taken to include a city like Kāstīra or Sākala as well, both of which have been referred to as nagara 'city' elsewhere. (o) Now that we have the evidence of cities flourishing in the Indus Valley contemporaneously with the Aryans of Sapta Sindhu, there is no reason to doubt that the term grāma meant cities as well as villages even at an early date. Nevertheless, the generality of people lived in villages with houses, built of sun-dried mud bricks, wood from the forest, or stone from the mountain side, according to climate and local situation. Populous towns and cities of brick-built houses which

(*) Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol I, p.244.

(§) Rgveda, Bk I, 114,1; Bk VIII, 7,1; Bk X, 127,5.

(o) Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī, Sūtra VI,1,155; Mahābhārata, Bk VIII, chapter xlv. (Calcutta edition).

characterized the Indus Valley culture must have continued in the Aryan period on the fertile banks of the rivers in the Panjab; those which were destroyed during invasions would have been rebuilt, though with a different style. A Sapta Sindhu Rajan, to judge from the description of King Varuna's palace, and several other passages, could ill afford to live in a low lying village, exposed to deluging floods of the rivers.

The people of an average Sapta Sindhu village were a simple, hardy folk, much like the peasants of the Panjab of to-day, for rural life changes very slowly. Their main wealth was in cattle, which they tended. Agriculture was their other chief occupation, as is evident from Rgvedic references in numerous words and passages. This occupation is specially praised in a stanza No 13 of Bk X, 34. The plough and the ploughshare are objects of divine worship in the Rgveda. The hymn IV, 57 is addressed to a god of the fields, with prayers to direct the plough straight into the furrow and to keep the land sweet, so

(*) Rgveda, Bk, II, 41, 5; Bk V, 62, 6; Bk VII 88, 5.

(§) Agriculture forms the subject of one whole hymn (Bk IV, 57, 1-8). Some of the various passages referring to it are as follows:- Bk I, 23, 15; Bk II, 14, 11; Bk V, 53, 13; Bk VI, 6, 4; Bk VIII, 78, 10; Bk X, 101, 3 and 4; 117, 7; etc.

(o) akshair mā dīvyah kṛshim it kṛshasva vitte ramasva brāhu
manyamānah,
tatra gāvah kitava tava jāyā tan me vi chashte savitāyaṃ
aryah.

that the husbandman may drive the oxen with his goad.

For the purpose of irrigation wells and canals were dug (Bk X, 25, 4; 68, 1; 99, 4). The water was raised from wells (avatas) by means of stone wheels, circles of stone (asma-chakra*) to which buckets were attached. This device of lifting water from wells is still found in some parts of the Panjab. Some operations in the art of agriculture are also mentioned. For example, when the harvests were ripe, they were cut down with a sickle (srñī, Bk I, 58, 4, Bk X, 101, 3; 106, 6; or dātra, modern Panjabi dātrī, Bk VIII, 78,10), bound into bundles (parsha, Bk VIII, 78,10, Bk X, 103,3; 131, 2) and "beaten out on the floor of the granary (Khala, Bk X, 48,7). The grain was then separated from the straw and refuse either by a sieve (kitau) or a winnowing fan (sūrpa, Bk X, 71, 2, etc). The winnower was called dhānya-kṛt (Bk X, 94, 13), and the grain was measured in a vessel called ūrdara (Bk II, 14,11) (§)

It will thus be seen that Aryan society in Sapta Sindhu was not merely pastoral, as is sometimes supposed from the prayers offered to the god Pūshan in the Rgveda for pastures and herds of cattle; the breeding and protection of kine and the like are great concerns of an

(*) The Aryans made regular use of stone: Rgveda, Bk II, 24, 4, asmāsyam avatam, 'well with mouth of stone'; Bk X, 101, 10, asmanmayibhih vāsibhih, 'axes made of stone'. So also Bk IV, 30,20 and Bk X, 67, 3, where a hundred fortresses of stone and stony barriers are mentioned.

(§) Vedic Index, Vol I, p.182, article on krshī 'ploughing'.

agriculturist. Moreover, the Aryans' knowledge of agriculture seems to go back to the age before they entered Sapta Sundhu. The Indo-Aryans and Iranians both, when united, cultivated soil and raised crops. This is proved "by the identity of the expressions yavam krsh and sasya in the Rgveda with yao karesh and hahya in the Avesta, referring to the ploughing in of the seed and to the grain which resulted." (*) The nomadic and pastoral life which the Aryans apparently followed in their original home in the remote past, had long ago been over before the Indo-Iranian stage. The Indo-Aryans, in any case, when they settled in the Panjab, continued to practise agriculture, to which they were accustomed by inheritance. At the same time we must not forget that the Indus Valley people whose country the Aryans invaded had possessed agricultural centres, on which depended the prosperity of cities like Harappa with teeming population. The Indo-Aryans in their new home must have adapted themselves very early to the resources of the Panjab, and their agricultural life, so highly spoken of in the Rgveda, largely depended on the previous experiences of the Indus Valley people. (§)

But it was not every householder or family in a village that took to ploughing; that may have been the

(*) Ibid, pp 181 and 182. Yava perhaps at first meant any grain and later barley.

(§) The story of the origin of agriculture (Atharvaveda, Bk VIII, 10, 27) by one Prthi or Prthu Vainya (Vedic Index, Vol II, p.16) must be regarded as a pure myth, invented later.

case only in small villages. Besides agriculture, we have in the Rgveda traces of several other occupations. Communication, though it surely existed, was, on the whole, more or less poor and unsafe; consequently the village included a nearly complete establishment of occupations and trades, which enabled it to carry on its collective life without external assistance. Eventually a good village came to include among its inmates, as we shall see, various artizans, craftsmen, traders, warriors, teachers and spiritual guides, while the conquered non-Aryans in the Indus Valley ^{who} were allowed to stay on were by and by incorporated in the society and forced to work as servants or slaves. (*) In addition to these, there were barbers and physicians. The word 'bhishag' occurs in many hymns, and the healing art was highly lauded; the twin gods, the Asvins, and the god Rudra were the divine physicians, who were repeatedly invoked by the Aryans. (§) Many other minor occupations are mentioned. A study of all the above activities shows that the Aryan village had passed beyond the primitive stage, and the villagers' ever-

(*) Muir, Old Sanskrit Texts, Vol V, p.452. In the Rgveda we have prayers for the acquisition of slaves (Bk III, 46, 32; Bk VIII, 56, 3). As regards their status and condition we have no information from the Veda.

(§) Rgveda, Bk I, 14, 5; Bk II, 33, 4, 7; Bk V, 42, 11; Bk VII, 46, 3; Bk X, 97; etc. As regards concrete examples of healing powers referred to in the Veda see Bk I, 112, 8, 10; 116, 10, 15, 16.

increasing wants had given rise to manifest sub-division of labour, in which arts and crafts played important parts. Thus, the social life of a village or town became complex, as the result of the requirements of agriculture, of defence against Aryan and Dasyu neighbours and of religion.

From numerous and distinct references in the hymns to crafts like carpentry, metal work, weaving and pottery, we know the Sapta Sindhu people took up the business of carpenter, smith, weaver and potter with pleasure. We may say that the construction of chariots (Bk I, 62, 13; 130, 6; 171, 2; Bk II, 19, 8; 35, 2; Bk IV, 16, 20; Bk V, 2, 11; etc.), manufacture of implements of war (Bk I, 162, 20; 127, 3; Bk VII, 104, 21; Bk VIII, 91, 19; etc), weaving (Bk I, 61, 8; Bk VI, 9, 2; Bk VII, 3, 9; Bk X, 26, 6; 30, 1; etc), and ship-building (Bk I, 116, 3; Bk II, 39, 4; Bk VIII, 42, 3; Bk IV, 70, 10; Bk X, 25, 7) were some of the principal industries which were practised in the Sapta Sindhu. In this connection it may be noticed that among agricultural, military and household implements mention is made of various articles of metal, 'ayas' (*). Though the exact meaning of this word is not ascertained, yet from some Vedic passages the sense (§) of iron is certain. Max Müller's opinion was "that at the time of the Rgveda besides silver and gold, a third metal

(*) e.g. Rgveda, Bk I, 25, 3; Bk II, 39, 4; Bk V, 30, 15; 53; 62, 8; Bk VI, 27, 6; Bk IX, 1, 2; 80, 2; etc.

(§) Ibid, Bk V, 25; Bk VI, 75, 15 (yasyā ayo mukham); Atharvaveda, Bk V, 28, 1; Bk X, 3, 17. Cf. Vedic Index, Vol I, p.32.

was known and named *ayas*, but whether this name referred to either copper or iron or to metals in general, there is no evidence to show." From the evidence of pre-Aryan finds in the Indus Valley, where copper definitely appears, we may infer that the term '*ayas*' was at first applied to copper and later on came to be used for iron in *Sapta Sindhu*. As to the material used in the weaving of cloth, wool, silk and cotton were greatly used. In particular, the wool of *Gandhāra* (*Rgveda*, Ek I, 126,6), of the *Ravi* and *Indus* regions (*Iliad*, Ek X, 75,8) was highly prized. True, there is no direct name for linen or cotton in the *Rgveda*, but the fact that linen and also cotton were used in the Chalcolithic Panjab, as is clear from the discovery of instruments of weaving and scraps of cloth, conclusively proves that the early Aryans were quite familiar at least with cotton, which is indigenous to the *Sapta Sindhu*. *Ragozin*, while discussing the old Babylonian name *Sindhu* for muslin, rightly observes, "that the Aryan settlers of Northern India had already begun, at an amazingly early period, to excel in the manufacture of the delicate tissue which has ever been and is to this day - doubtless in incomparably greater perfection - one of their industrial glories, a fact which implies cultivation of the cotton plant or tree, probably in Vedic times already."

(*) *L.A. Ragozin, Vedic India*, London 1923 edition, p.306.

The evidence of certain words like 'vanij', which denoted a trader (Rgveda, Bk I, 112, 11; Bk V, 45, 6), the root krī to purchase (ibid Bk IV, 24, 10), 'Vasna', price (ibid Bk IV, 24, 9), etc., as well as certain passages in the Rgveda, clearly show that there was trade, and manufactured articles and other commodities were exchanged or sold, perhaps in areas where there was interdependence between neighbouring villages. But the main trade must have been carried on in big towns and cities of the Sapta Sindhu, which were probably connected with one another by tracks, with wells at intervals. The commerce with the outside world by land and sea which had been carried on in earlier days of pre-Aryan culture, as is known from the discovery of the Indus seals in Mesopotamia and foreign seals in the Indus Valley as also other remains, was continued by the Indo-Aryans. There are references in the Rgveda to ships and merchants going abroad. For example, the stanzas in Bk I, 56, 2 and IV, 55, 6 indicate that merchants went to the ocean for gain, which must be no other than commercial. Besides, the Atharvaveda (Bk III, 15) gives a spell for obtaining success in trade. As to the way in which trade was carried on and the presence of markets, we are almost in the dark. But there is some evidence to show that the exchange of commodities was by barter. "Ten cows are regarded as a possible price for an (image of) Indra to

be used to be used as a fetish, while elsewhere not a hundred, nor a thousand, nor a myriad are considered as an adequate price (Śulka) for the purchase of Indra." (*)

It seems cows, as also jewellery like nishka (gold necklets), (\$) were the more common standards of exchange. A certain social class, designated the Panis, amassed fortunes through trade and also usury. This type of man was an object of dislike in the eyes of the priest-authors of the hymns, in which he is "charged with rapacity, usury and impiety". Very likely the Pani was condemned because he, being a lover of wealth, disregarded religious life - worship of gods, performance of sacrifice and reverence for priests.

Thus we see that society in Sapta Sindhu was sufficiently settled, by the time even of the earliest hymns of the Rgveda, to have attained a high development in agriculture, various arts and crafts, as well as in inland and sea trade. But this was not all. The more warlike and enterprising among the people assumed authority over the rest for protection of their land and property and also for protection against enemy-Aryan or non-Aryan; while the more thoughtful and contemplative amongst them took to the work of teaching, mostly religious, to worship of gods and performance of Vedic sacrifices. But the same man

(*) Vedic Index, Vol I, pp.196 and 234. Also Rgveda, Bk VIII, 1 and 5.

(§) Ibid, p 197. That nishka was a coin or standard of value in currency at Rgvedic age is very doubtful.

could take to different crafts or occupations without any prejudice. Any person who distinguished himself for his genius or virtue could adopt any of the callings which suited his ability. Yet in these conditions of freedom in vocational functions, the sharp division of society into rich and poor seems to have been existing. We find, in addition to the ruling chiefs and princes, the existence of a rich upper class; the Rgveda mentions Mahākulas 'sprung from a great family', though figuratively (Ek I, 161,1), and Maghavans 'bountiful' (Vedic Index Vol II, p 118), who are distinguished by their generosity. The munificence of these rich people may be appreciated from the constant praise bestowed on the people who made gifts of horses, cattle, clothes, and gold. (*) On the other hand, there were starving men begging for food. One whole hymn 117 of Ek X, dedicated to hunger and attributed to Bhikshu, repeatedly inculcates upon the rich the duty of feeding the poor. Wealth no doubt came to be a criterion of social position, provided it patronised and respected Vedic religion. These social inequalities grew more and more in Sapta Sindhu as time went on, until they led to a condition of things in which the rich were adored by men of lesser wealth and consequently of lower social status, while the poor sank lowest in the social ranks.

(*) Rgveda, Ek X, 62,11; and 107.

This naturally leads us to one of the leading questions of Indian studies - caste (varna). Apart from this division of society into the rich and poor, there was another, the class-division, which regarded the society as something of an organism, with various functions classified into three or four parts. We must distinguish here between class and caste, as found in ancient literature. Broadly speaking, caste signifies a system of social divisions into four Orders (varnas), in which each exclusive section (jāti) was associated with strict heredity of occupation, some religious scruples, traditional custom of marriage etc., had its defined rights, and was subject to its corresponding responsibilities; while class was a system of social division, based on simple natural distribution of labour etc., vaguely associated with heredity and having no concern with creeds or religious beliefs. The Rgveda does not attest the existence of caste as defined above; it is found in later Vedic literature. In one stanza of the Rgveda (Bk IX, 112,3), we are explicitly told by the author, "Although I am a bard of the hymn, yet my father was a physician, while my mother was a grinder (of grains) between mill-stones." (*) Again, certain traditions about the Rgvedic personages, such as Viśvāmitra, Devāpi Ārishtishena, Paruchehhepa Daivodāsi, Vītahavya or Eharadvāja, Sindhudvīpa, Māndhātṛ, Śivi and Prthu or Prthi, indicate that there existed priests,

(*) kārur aham tato bhishag upala-prakshiniṇā nana, etc.

(*)

purohitas or rshis (composers of hymns) of royal origin. Moreover, each occupation was regarded with dignity. "The worker in wood had clearly the place of honour, needed as he was to produce the war chariots, the ships and boats of trade and carts for agricultural purposes. It is interesting to note that the cultivators, artisans and handicrafts-men are in no way regarded as inferior members of the community."

There being thus no exaltation or degradation of one occupation or the other, the Aryans of Sapta Sindhu in their respective visas or rashtras all stood united as one community; they could change profession at will. There was, no doubt, a broad division of their society into classes, based on differences in functions - Brahman, kshatra or rajanya, and vis, the three social states of the Indo-Iranians of prehistoric times, as the same classes are mentioned in the Avesta of the Iranians. (§) But there was, in fact, no absolute separation of the functions of these Aryan classes, the three Varnas.

"Varna (literary 'colour') in the Rigveda is applied to denote only classes of men, the Dasa and the Aryan Varna being contrasted, as other passages show, on account of colour. But this use is confined to distinguishing two colours: in this respect the Rgveda differs fundamentally

(*) Bk III, 43, 3, Bk X, 98; Bk I, 127-39; Bk VI, 15; Bk X, 133; Bk X, 179; Bk X, 148. Cf. Vedic Index, Vol II, p 261 and Vol I, pp 498-99.

(§) Vedic Index, Vol II, p 270.

from the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmanas, where the four castes (~~called~~ varṇāḥ) are already fully recognised." (*)

Properly speaking, the three old classes of early Aryans never in the Sapta Sindhu crystallised into imper-
vious castes such as those described in the Brāhmanas, Sūtras and Manu's Dharmasāstra, i.e. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The hymns of the Rgveda, undoubtedly, stress very strongly the difference between the Aryans on the one hand and the non-Aryans on the other, in colour, speech, religion and physical features; they practically make no mention of Sudra. (§) The Rgveda rather speaks of Dāsa and Dasyu enemies, who too were eventually expelled from the Sapta Sindhu. That fact itself shows that the Śūdras were not yet assimilated, and that "their incorporation in the Aryan Order of society was, indeed, afterwards expressed by admission into a fourth caste". At any rate, Vedic literature, when studied historically, reveals the fact that such assimilation did not take place

(*) Article on varṇa in Vedic Index, Vol II, p 241 with three footnotes on the page.

(§) It is only in one passage of the Rgveda (Purusha Sūkta, X, 90.12), which is regarded by most scholars to be chronologically one of the latest, as well as an interpolation, that the Śūdra is mentioned as one of the four castes. The word has not so far been satisfactorily derived from any Sanskrit root. Most probably it was the name of an important tribe among pre-Aryan natives in the east of the Panjab, whence the orthodox Brahmins adopted a designation for the fourth caste. In course of time the word Śūdra clearly came to be used to denote anybody who was not a Brahman, who was not a kshatriya, or who was not a Vaiśya. A foreigner even with strong leanings towards Aryan culture, in spite of his high status, was regarded as a Śūdra if he was not a full-fledged Aryan.

in the Sapta Sindhu, the home of the Rgveda, but was a matter of later history, when a branch of the Sapta Sindhu Aryans advanced from that country to the east, where the institution of caste was worked by their priests, who introduced new ideas into old Vedic religion, and formed a different type of society, probably as the result of new conditions. Śūdras have been differentiated from the Aryans in the Atharvaveda. This view of caste in the ancient Panjab finds strong support in a caricature, found in the Mahābhārata, of old caste-conditions still existing there at the time of the Epic:

21. There one at first becomes a Brahman and then becomes a Kshatriya. A Vāhlīka after that will become a Vaiśya, then a Śūdra and then a barber.

22. Then having become a barber he will again become a Brahman. Attaining again to the position of a Brahman he will again become a slave.

23. One member of a family becomes a Brahman. All others falling off from virtue act as they please. Cultured Brahmins following the holy life who belong to one and the same family become Gāndhārakas, Madrakas, and dull-witted Vāhlīkas. (*)

(*) 21. tatra vai Brāhmaṇo bhūtvā punar bhavati Kshatriyah, Vaiśyaś Śūdras cha Vāhlīkas tato bhavati nāpitaḥ.

22. nāpitaś cha tato bhūtvā punar bhavati Brāhmaṇaḥ. dvijo bhūtvā hi tatraiva punar dāso'pi jāyate.

23. bhavanty ekakulā viprās śiṣṭa ye brahma-chāriṇaḥ, Gāndhārakā Madrakāś cha Vāhlīkāś cha apy achetasaḥ.
(continued)

The existence of caste in present-day Panjab, wherever it is found, is due to later influence, perhaps in mediaeval times, from the east through Brahman propaganda. It never grew up of itself in the Panjab. V. Smith's remarks on the origin of caste, in his Oxford History of India (1923 edition), pp 34 ff, should in no case be taken as applying to the Panjab.

(*)
Emile Senart is the scholar who has best understood the caste-system in India, in the opinion of many experts. He believes that the varnas, in the sense of later castes, which make up Brahmanism of the Madhyadesa were grafted on to ancient social classes - those of the original united Indo-Iranians and of Rgvedic ages. His view is that originally there existed as many castes (jātis) as tribes, and that in order to simplify and explain the real state of affairs the Brahmans later grouped all these jātis into the four varnas, viz Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The word varna which the Brāhmanas mention does not really refer to castes, but to four states or classes. This view would best apply to conditions in the territory dominated by Brahmans outside the Panjab, and not to the Sapta Sindhu, where

Note continued) Southern edition by S.S. Sastri (1935), Chapter xxxviii, verses 21-23. Cf Chapter xlv of Book viii in Calcutta and Poona editions. The translation of the verses above follows that of M.N. Dutt with needful modifications.

(*) Les Castes dans l'Inde, Paris (1896)
Eng. travel by Sir E.D. Ross, London, 1930, pp 90 ff.

the racial as well as cultural contrast could exert influence to a very small extent. On the other hand, it has been suggested ^(*) that the caste originally was a non-Aryan institution, and Brahmans were not responsible for its introduction. It is only in the non-Aryan south that caste rules are rigid on the point of untouchability, and that too in the ranks of the so-called untouchables themselves. The only fault of the Brahmans lay in the fact that they could not outgrow the extant conditions of mutual exclusiveness and succumbed to the system owing to the force of numbers being against them. It may be true. However, so far as the Panjab is concerned, the rigidity of caste was practically non-existent in early days for a long time in that land, where the stock of Aryan extraction was in a majority, and as far as possible avoided union with non-Aryans.

(*) Ketkar, History of Caste in India (1909) Vol I pp 63 ff

Among various aspects of Aryan Society in Sapta Sindhu, the family life shows a distinct phase of evolution. The unit of society with them was the household or family, dwelling in villages, towns and cities. This smallest social group evolved certain institutions, which were peculiarly Aryan. Some of the special features described below will suffice to give an idea of family life, as it was lived by Aryans in the Panjab. The Rgveda presents a family, which comprised grhapati 'the head of the family' (Bk VI, 53,2), grhapatni 'wife or mistress of the house' (Bk X, 85, 26), daughters, sons together with their wives and their offspring, all working with joint interests and under the authority of the head of the family - the patriarch, grhapati, a term similar to vispati, 'Lord of the dwelling' according to the size of the group (Vedic Index, Vol II, p 308). The sacrifices and worship of gods were a special activity in an Aryan house, which each head of the family performed jointly with his wife. (*) As the grhapati looked after work outdoors on farm, workshop or elsewhere as the case might be, many of the household duties were entrusted to his wife. The evidence of the so-called Marriage Hymn (Bk X, 85) and numerous other passages in the Rgveda shows that superintendence of varied household affairs

(*) Cf Rgveda, Bk VIII, 31, 5-9; also Bk I, 173,2; Bk V. 43.15.

was considered part of the grhapatni's duties, which really made her the mistress of home. Hence with the father, who was treated with great and due respect in the household, was associated the mistress, who received as much, and sometimes even more, reverence. Let us quote here the noteworthy observation of Macdonell and Keith on the Aryan ideal of family, which they say, was decidedly high, and was often actually fulfilled. "The wife on her marriage was at once given an honoured position in the house: she is emphatically mistress in her husband's home, exercising authority over her father-in-law, her husband's brothers, and her unmarried sisters. No doubt the case contemplated is one in which the eldest son of a family has become its head owing to the decrepitude of the parents, his wife then taking the place of the mistress of the joint family while the brothers and sisters are still unmarried. It is not inconsistent with the great stress elsewhere laid on the respect due to a father-in-law, who then is probably regarded as still in full possession of his faculties, and controls the house while his son continues to live with him. The respect would no doubt equally apply if the son had set up a separate family of his own." (*)

Mann has said, "Gods live in joy where women are revered." This means that reverence for women is one of

(*) Vedic Index, Vol I, pp 484-85 with f.notes 102 to 106.

the essential qualities that go to make a society really civilized. This condition, we know from the R̥gveda, largely obtained in the Sapta Sindhu. The status of women was not at all one of subordination or inferiority; they never occupied a lower position than men. In intellectual and spiritual life also they appear to have held the same position as men; we understand from the R̥gvedic traditions that some of the rshis of hymns were women. A few of the hymns present to us concrete pictures of the married life of Aryan ladies in the stories of the dignified matrons Viśvavārā (Ek V, 28), Ūpāmudrā (Ek I, 179), Ghoshā (Ek X, 40) and others. An illustration may here be given from one of them. In stanza 3 of the hymns (Ek V, 28), which is attributed to Viśvavārā, she herself tells us the story of her wedded life: "Agni, do thou repress our foes to ensure our great good fortune; let the riches brought by thee be of the highest and best. Make perfect, O Agni, the wedded life of the wife and husband by mutual concord and restraint and do thou overpower the strength and energies of all those who would be hostile to us." (*)

(*) agne śardha mahate saubhagāya tava dyumnāny uttamāni santu
sa jāspatyam suyamam ā kṛṇushva śatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā
mahāṁsi.

Closely connected with life in the family is the subject of marriage. The Marriage Hymn referred to just above shows that the bride after the marriage-ceremony was conveyed from the house of her father with many valuable presents to that of her husband obviously by consent, and that in her new home she had an honoured place as mistress. In one stanza (Rgveda, Bk III, 53,4), Viśvāmitra declares Jāyed astam "the wife is verily the home", and it was with this high ideal of dignified life that an Arya sought after a worthy and accomplished girl for marriage, without whom the home - love, merry children, prayers, wealth, prosperity and peace - was not possible. (Rgveda, Bk X, 85, 36). The home without children was not regarded as fit to live in. Prayers were sent up to the gods for birth of children in the home. But the desire for a male child was always predominant, which had a reason. The Aryan family being patriarchal, a son was necessary for the continuance of the family line, for

(*) The details of the marriage-ritual in Rgvedic ages are not all understood, although many stanzas of the hymn X, 85, have been used in Grhya Sūtras as mantras for marriage rituals. See Vedic Index Vol I, pp 483-84 together with the hymns in the Rgveda, Bk X, 85 and the Atharvaveda, Bk XIV, 1 and 2. Also read Dr L.D. Barnett's Antiquities of India, London 1913, pp 142-144. It may be pointed out that some of the elaborate rituals described in the Sūtras are now being traced to non-Aryan origins, and possibly some of the marriage rites like madhuparka and saptapadi had perhaps their foundation in the Indus Valley time.

(§) Freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands was allowed, sometimes at least, to women in early days. This practice did not vanish soon, as is clear from the ancient story of Sāvitrī, the daughter of Asvapati, a virtuous king in the Panjab (Mahābhārata (Calcutta) Bk III, chapter cclxlii).

(o) Rgveda, Bk VII, 1, 11-12, 19, 24; 4, 10; 24, 5; Bk VIII, 1, 13.

(*)

succession to the family property, for performing the necessary funeral rites, and for offering oblations to the dead pitrs 'Fathers' for their satisfaction in the life after death. We find this desire for a son expressed in many passages of the Rgveda. (§) The relation of children and parents was clearly as a rule one of close affection. After the marriage of a son, he, with his wife appears to have continued to reside in the parental house and under the control of his parents until their retirement due to old age. There are many other minor points of family life on which information is available from the Rgveda. For example, many householders enjoyed a fairly high degree of material comfort in respect of living, food and dress. Amusements like music, dancing, racing, dicing etc were common.

We frequently come across prayers to Gods for a happy life of a hundred years, the theoretically normal term. In the main, the early Aryans always took a bright view of life; there is no hint of pessimism whatsoever.

One of the two hymns (Rgveda, Bk VII, 54 and 55) addressed

(*) All property of the family belonged to the father, which he might divide among his sons, when he became too old and unfit for active work (Rgveda, Bk I, 70,5).
 (§) E.g. Bk VII, 4, 7-8; 34, 20, Bk X 85, etc. The absence of a son was considered a curse. This resulted in the custom of adoption of a son from another's family, though the practice was not looked upon with favour (Bk VII, 4, 7-8).

to Vāstoshpati, 'lord of the house', will be found interesting as showing the Aryan view of life. Dr E.J. Thomas has (*) thus translated VII, 54, just quoted above.

1. "Lord of the house, acknowledge us; grant us good entrance; free us from sickness. What we implore of thee do thou bestow. Blessing to us be thou, to the two-footed, blessing to the four-footed.
2. Lord of the house, be our increase, furthering our wealth with kine and horses, O Indu. May we be free from old age in thy friendship; cherish us as a father his children.
3. Lord of the house, may we share in thy pleasant company, delightful and propitious. In our rest and in our labour protect our weal. Ye Gods, protect us ever with blessings".

✓ Child-marriages, so common in later times, were unknown in Rgvedic ages. Marriage in those days "appears essentially as a union of two persons of full development. This is shown by numerous references (Cf Rgveda, Bk I, 117, 7; Bk II, 17, 7; Bk X, 39, 3; 40, 5. Ghoskā is the chief example of this condition) to unmarried girls who grow old in the house of their fathers (amājur)". In consequence of the absence of child-marriage, married couples enjoyed long lives, and relatively fewer women became widows, The

(*) Vedic Hymns, Wisdom of the East Series, London 1923, pp 97-98.

question of remarriage of a widow could seldom arise in the Sapta Sindhu where the mother was an object of great reverence. Yet a childless widow had the option of getting a child begotten on her by the brother of her dead husband. (*) "This custom," it will be seen, was hardly remarriage in the strict sense, since the brother might - so far as appears - be already married himself." Probably widow-remarriage existed among pre-Aryans in the Indus Valley; the custom happens to be mentioned in a passage of the Atharvaveda (Ek IX,5, 27-28), referring to a charm in the form of pañchaśdana offering, "which would secure the reunion, in the next world, of a wife and her second husband". In that case the Rgveda would indicate acquaintance with a prevailing custom, which the Aryans came to adopt in the Sapta Sindhu in a modified form, as stated above. Incest, i.e. marriage between parents and children or between brother and sister, was not permitted. A reference in the Rgveda, Ek X,10, shows that the custom of marriage between sister and brother had prevailed in bygone ages (uttarā yugāni). Whether this phrase refers to pre-Indian times of the Indo-Aryans when they were still united with the Iranians or to the days of the Indus Valley culture is

(*) Rgveda, Ek X, 40, 2 and also Ek X, 18,8.

very difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, it seems the practice of sister-marriage was not unknown altogether in the Panjab at a comparatively later date. There are memoirs of it in Sanskrit literature. As an example for that, we have an allusion to the succession of sister's sons in the Madra country. (*) At any rate, intermarriage between near relations almost certainly existed. The Rgvedic passage in support of this practice is to be found in a hymn which makes reference in a simile to marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter (mātulasyeva yoshā). (§)

Sexual morality, on the whole, was high among Aryans in the Panjab, though some of them were, at the same time, given by custom great freedom, as shown by conditions obtaining there in later times. (o) Monogamy was the general rule, as would appear from the importance of the wife, who together with her husband maintained the household ritual, and was expected to bear sons who would carry on the worship of their ancestors. Polygamy (x) and

(*) Mahābhārata (Southern edition by S.S.Sastri) Bk VIII (Karnaparva), Chapter xxxviii, verses 26-27. Chapter XLV, verse 13, in Calcutta and Poona edition. Cf Pargiter on sister marriages in Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp 70, 86.

(§) Aufrecht, Hymen des Rigveda, Bonn, 1877, Vol II, p.678, vii, 55, 8.

(o) Mahābhārata (Calcutta edition), Bk I (Adiparva), chapter cxxii, verses 2-7.

(x) The custom of polygamy is clear from Rgveda, Bk I, 62, 11; 71, 1; 104, 3; 105, 8; 112, 19; 186, 7; Bk V, 53, 4; Bk VII, 18, 2; 26, 3; Bk X, 43, 1; 101, 11.

polyandry (group marriage) were not prohibited. As regards polyandry Āpastamba (Dharma Sūtra, II, 27,2) mentions giving a girl to a family (Kule Kanyāpradānam) as an ancient custom in northern India now forbidden. In the Mahābhārata Draupadī is the wife of five brothers in the dynasty of Pāṇḍu. Group-marriage is still practised among Brahmans, Rajputs and Śūdras in Kumaon, so also in Seoraj, Lahul, Spiti and other Himalayan regions, and likewise, though sporadically, among the Jāts of the Panjab. (*)

Side by side with the changes in social and domestic life of Aryans, there had also developed a political organization on the patriarchal system. Small tribes had disappeared in the Sapta Sindhu under the pressure of conquest and protection both against non-Aryan and Aryan

(*) Apparently there were three successive stages in the system of group-marriage in India:-

- I. Kule Kanyāpradānam, where the woman becomes common property of all brothers of the family ('brothers' in the widest sense), and the children are reckoned as belonging to the eldest living brother. Thus in Kumaon, etc.
- II. Same, but the children are divided among the brothers. Thus in Seoraj, Lahul and other Himalayan regions.
- III. The woman is no longer common property; she contracts regular marriage with any man of the clan, which is dissoluble by mutual consent. Thus Nayars of Malabar, Travancore, etc.

Succession to rank (e.g. kingship) and property in stage III passes to a sister's son, as in Travancore etc. The Mahābhārata says (see above p.269) The same rule prevailed in Madra-deśa, where presumably society was under stage I or II. There is no need for it in III; so it must have arisen in I or II, where it would be necessary.

N.B. I and II are compatible with either patriarchy or matriarchy, while III is more or less associated with matriarchy.

foes. This gave rise to a number of kingdoms called rāshtras, which attained some distinct political development, as is clear from the term kshatra meaning 'dominion, rule or power' ^(*) or kshatra-srī meaning 'sovereignty'. ^(§) Each rāshtra was normally ruled by a Rajan, who was mostly hereditary, but sometimes elective. ^(o) He always belonged to the Rājanya or Kshatriya family of an Arya jana. Both these terms, Rājanya and Kshatriya, occurring in the Rgveda, are practically identical in their significance and refer to members of the actual ruling families, warrior nobles irrespective of kingly power, or fighting people, ⁽⁻⁾ whosoever they might be. The rāshtra of a various royal titles of Rgvedic Rajans like samrāt, adhirāja, ekarāj, etc, denoted any qualitative variety. As we have already said

(*) Rgveda, Bk I, 24, 11; 136, 1, 3; Bk IV, 17, 1; Bk V, 62, 6, etc.

Cf Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 24.

(§) Rgveda, Bk I, 25, 5; Bk VI, 26, 8.

(o) Ibid, Bk X, 173.

(x) Cambridge History of India, Vol I, pp 94-95.

Cf Vedic Index, Vol II, p 211.

(-) There is nothing in the Rgveda to show that the existence of a special or separate Kshatriya class; indeed, it was a custom with any man in Sapta Sindhu to take up arms when need be and become a Kshatriya by virtue of his military function.

in the last chapter, these titles only distinguished Rajans of different territories in Sapta Sindhu according to the degree of power they possessed; they can however, hardly be looked upon as indicating distinct types of kingdoms at this early stage, these titles, there is no need to doubt, denoted ranks of superiority in relation to feudatory or tributary Rajans.

The Rgveda gives us very little information about the functions of a Rajan in a rāshtra and its government. In fact, we cannot expect anything in this respect from the hymns, which are chiefly prayers to gods. Still, a closer study of them has yielded some isolated facts. Generally speaking, the Rajan, being the head of the state, was identical with its government, which was primarily set up to give protection to the Jana against enemies, wage war, collect revenue (bali), and administer justice. Perhaps offering sacrifices on certain occasions was also one of the duties of state. Thus, all these functions belonged to the Rajan, which he performed for the welfare of his political Jana, or rāshtra, both in time of peace and war. He is therefore described in the Rgveda as gopā janasya,

(*) There are, we have seen, many references to wars in the Rgveda.

(§) Probably voluntary and not forced contribution to the Rajan - Rgveda, Bk VII, 6,5; Bk X, 173,6.

'custodian of the state' (Bk VI, 43,5). Besides the Rajan, there were other officers in the rāshtra, three of whom happen to be mentioned in the Veda. They were the Senāni 'a commander of the army', appointed perhaps by the Rajan (*) to lead expeditions; the Grāmanī, who was in charge of the smaller divisions of the army; and the Purohita, a family priest, a very important official, the forerunner of the Brahman statesman of later times in India. The Purohita, who always accompanied the Rajan in the battlefield and assemblies, was expected to give every possible guidance and advice in state affairs, and offer prayers with the customary ritual to gods in order to secure victory for the Rajan. It is not possible to know the number and nature of any other official connected with the rāshtra. However, we find two other very important parts of it, viz., the Sabhā and Samiti, the two popular bodies. Both Sabhā and Samiti are mentioned in many passages of the Rgveda, but these do not exactly define their character, functions and mutual relations, with the result that there have been conflicting views as to their meaning among (§) scholars like Ludwig, Zimmer, Hillebrandt and others.

(*) Grāmanī 'an executive head of the village' probably discharged duties in the village on behalf of the Rajan, and also performed military functions, when called upon. The one special Grāmanī associated with Rajan was probably the representative of all local village heads, or was the one belonging to the capital city (Rgveda, Bk X, 62,11; 107,5. Vedic Index Vol I, p 247).

(§) Vedic Index, Vol II, pp 426-27. Cf Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p 96.

But the recent thorough study of scholars in Europe and India, based on the comparative evidence on these two terms from all Vedic texts, has now shown that the Sabhā and Samiti, though these terms were also used in other than an administrative sense, were respectively the 'Council of selected Advisors' and the 'Representative Assembly' of the Jana, associated with the Rajan. (*) Details about them in the Rgveda are too scanty for us to form any definite idea on their constitution and functions. This much at least is clear that various affairs of state were discussed in these institutions, and that the will of the jana, expressed through them, considerably checked the autocracy of the Rajan, if and when it was manifested. The Sabhā, in particular, also acted as the Court of Judicature, (§) while the Samiti, 'Assembly', in the opinion of Zimmer, elected the Rajan or approved his appointment, perhaps made by the Sabhā in the first instance, in which the Purohita had an effective voice.

It is difficult to trace any influence of pre-Aryan political institutions on the polity of Aryans in the Sapta Sindhu, very likely there are none. But the presence of a

(*) K.P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Calcutta, 1924, Part I, Chapters II and III.
 Maasson - Oursel and others, Ancient India, London 1934, pp 97-99.

(§) Rgveda, Bk X, 71,10.

cultured enemy in the Indus Valley leads us to think that he must have modified the course of political development of the conquerors; in what way we cannot say. Nor is there any indication in the R̥gveda for the presence of non-Rajan government of an aristocracy, that is alluded to in a later Vedic text, (*) and is revealed by the oligarchies or so called republics of the Panjab existing about the rise of Chandragupta Maurya, who destroyed most of them when he made the country a province of his great Empire. These oligarchies probably originated as the result of changed political conditions in later time; it is futile to trace them to the earliest period. The word gana, which means either guild or oligarchy (loosely called republic) in later history, is not at all used in the latter technical meaning in the R̥gveda. Gana may have been just a non-political corporation, very difficult to define from the data available in the R̥gveda. Hence K.P. Jayaswal rightly remarks - "The hymns of the Rik and Atharvan, the

(*) Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14, 3.

Etasyāṃ pratīchyāṃ dīśi ye ke cha nīchyānāṃ rājāno ye'pāchyānāṃ svārājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante svarād ity enān abhishiktān āchakshate.

N.B. The words nīchya and apāchya do not mean low-born and ill-mannered ones, as taken by some scholars (see for example A.S.I. Memoir No 31, p 7). They are regional terms and the context fixes them in lowlands and the west, which include the Panjab without hilly country. This is part of a long passage which relates to the coronation of Indra and may be translated as follows:-

continued

view of the Māha Bhārata and the tradition which Megasthenes heard in India in the fourth century B.C., all point to the fact that republican form of government in India came long after monarchy, and after the early Vedic age". (*)

It is clear that the Rajan form of government was widely spread in the Sapta Sindhu. This no doubt had resulted from the peculiar circumstances of the Aryans, who had to unite and fight under one Kshatriya leader in order to conquer the former occupants of that country. That fact itself indicates that the Aryans possessed war-like qualities, which made them successful invaders. We have ample evidence from the Rgveda that an Aryan warrior, generally designated Kshatriya in that capacity, was an expert in the use of āyudhas or astras, i.e. weapons, (§) especially dhanus and ishu, bow and arrow, repeatedly occurring with many synonyms in the hymns. Various other weapons are also mentioned, some of which were used in

continued

Hence in the western direction, whatever Rajans there are of the lowlanders and of the westerners, they are annointed for svārājya, 'self-rule', i.e. monarchy in its own right or irresponsible autocracy, and are called svarāts, 'autocrats'.

(*) Loc.cit, part I, Chapter IV, p.25.

(§) Vedic Index, Vol I, p 61.

war. From the two battle-hymns (Bk VI, 75; Bk X, 103) and several other passages, which give us an idea of war-equipment and Aryan warfare, we learn that a Kshatriya was very well armed and completely protected with armour and coat of mail. Words like varman, drāpi, śiprā, hastaghna, varūtha, etc. occur in the sense of warlike protections for the body of warriors. Gods, especially Indra, were invoked, on the eve of and during war, and the efficiency of mantras on arrows was also believed in. Among several war-tactics used one was cutting the embankments or artificial dykes on the rivers, the object being to discomfit the neighbouring residents and thereby spring surprise on the enemy. (*) We also know that the use of the war-chariot was very common in battles. There are numerous references to war-chariots (rathas) in the Rgveda. (§) But there is no satisfactory record of the use of horsemen or cavalry in battles at this early date of Panjab history, (o) though horse-riding was quite well-known. The army, it appears, consisted of two divisions, viz. foot-soldiers

(*) Rgveda, Bk VII, 18, 8 and 9.

(§) Bk I, 20, 3; Bk III, 15, 5; Bk IV, 4, 10; 16, 20; Bk V, 103, 10, etc.

(o) Bk I, 162, 17; 163, 9; Bk V, 61, 1-3. These passages mention horses, the reins and the whip "laid upon the flank". In the opinion of the authors of the Vedic Index (Vol I, p 42) "no mention is made of riding in battle". On the other hand, Dr. A. C. Das (Rgvedic Culture, Calcutta 1925, pp 222-27 and p 341) maintains that "War horses" were actually employed in battles in the Rgvedic period. But the stanzas (Bk VI, 46, 13 and 14) he has cited in support of his view do not seem to be convincingly clear on the point.

and charioteers, i.e. car-warriors. Probably in those days, when there was no standing army of the State, the national army or militia, composed of infantry and charioteers, formed numerous units, which were supplied by the villages or grāmas of Sapta Sindhu. These units of the national army, for the purpose of military organization, were also called grāmas, i.e. bodies of troops (Rgveda, Bk I, 100,10; Bk III, 33,11; Bk V, 27,9), and their leader was the Gramani (Vedic Index, Vol I, p.247).

From these outstanding features of social, family and other phases of life in the Sapta Sindhu, we next pass on to the various religious ideas of the historic Aryans. The subject has already been very often dealt with by many scholars since the scientific study of the Rgveda and later religious literature of India began in Europe. (*) But the account given by them is now considered incomplete, as owing to the lack of external evidence, which has of late come forth from the Indus Valley, it always ignored

(*) The following books deserve special mention:
 Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Berlin 1899;
 Bloomfield, The Religion of the Veda, New York, 1908;
 Dr. L.D. Barnett, Hindu Gods and Heroes: Studies in history of the religion of India (Wisdom of the East series) London 1922;
 Prof. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol I, Cambridge 1922;
 Prof. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol I, 2nd. Edition London 1930, pp 1-116;
 Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol 2, Edinburgh 1909, article on Aryan Religion pp 11-57.

non-Aryan influence, whatever it was, on the religion of the early Aryans. Heretofore most scholars had only assumed, from some un-Aryan elements in the Rgveda and old portions of the Atharvaveda,^(*) that the contact of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultures must have been an important factor in the growth of early Aryan religion. The present account of religious conditions in the Sapta Sindhu takes into consideration the fresh archaeological material obtained, and is based on the latest studies on the subject by scholars. Broadly speaking, we have in the Rgveda, besides various other discoverable beliefs, two distinct systems of Aryan religious thought side by side. Of these one, which is the more ancient, is strongly polytheistic (i.e. believing in multiplicity of personal deities) with a simple ritual;^(§) the other pays little attention to deities as such, and asserts the unity of the universe, thereby taking the form of pantheistic monism, which conceives different personal deities as many appellations of a single God.

This last system, which must be the result of philo-

(*) Elsewhere we have shown in what way a part of this Veda is useful for the study of conditions in the early Sapta Sindhu.

(§) As distinguished from the elaborate ritual that came to be developed by priests of the Aryans migrating eastward to the Gangetic valley in later times.

sophical thought in the domain of religion, presupposes a tradition behind it, although reflections of this character are met with in Rgvedic Hymns chronologically representing a later age. Speculations such as are comprised in the passages of Riddle-Hymn (Bk I, 164, 30, 46) identify one God with others. "They call Him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; likewise He is the heavenly well-winged Garutmant (the Sun); that which is one the wise designate by different names; they call Him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan."

Enquiries about one Supreme Soul are again found in various hymns (e.g. Bk I, 164, 4, etc, Bk X, 88, 18; 121, and others). Then this universal soul is conceived of as animating all the universe, animate and inanimate, including gods as well as men (Bk X 129; 121; 90; 125), and thus as the creator of all beginning of things, to whom different designations are given, such as Viśvakāṣman, Hivanyaegarbha, Prajāpati or Aditi. "These speculations are of interest, not for their intrinsic merit, but for the persistence with which the same conceptions dominate the religious and philosophical systems of India." In fact they may be regarded as forerunners of that monotheism which the early Upanishads preached and which still later found its philosophical elaboration in the scholastics of the Vedānta. The rudiments of this monotheistic philosophy, it is thought by some, had their foundations in pre-Aryan religion, which was characterized in the main by animistic ideas. But the question, even though it be admitted that there was prevalent some form

of animism among pre-Aryans, is problematical and very controversial; it cannot be decided by arguments founded on conjectures. We would rather say that these philosophical ideas should be traced back to a more intellectual quarter, and that was Aryan rather than pre-Aryan, as is now evident from the general character of the two cultures, one known from the Rgveda and the other recently revealed from remains of the Indus Valley sites.

But the main bulk of the Rgveda Saṁhitā contains hymns addressed to forces of Nature, which represent the other current of thought which was most widely prevalent among the Aryans. In this system various phenomena of Nature have been deified through mythological speculation and designated devas 'heavenly or shining ones'.^(*) These phenomena received different names. Thus we have for the principal aspects of nature a number of deities: Dyaus, the sky, usually invoked with Prithivī, the earth; Asura Varuna, the sky-god par excellence, associated with Rta as first cosmic and then moral order, as also with the god Mitra; solar gods such as Sūrya, the sun in its concrete aspect, Savitṛ, the sun as the motive power which drives

(*) This term 'deva', in course of time, came to be applied to any deity worshipped in the Sapta Sindhu, irrespective of its connection with heaven or light, e.g. śisnadevas 'having phallus as their gods' (Rk X, 99, 3), muradevas 'having roots as their gods' (Rk VII, 21, 5).

the activities of nature, Pūshan, the sun as the guide and guardian of roads to all, and Vishnu, the swift-moving sun; Indra, the rain and thunderstorm, the greatest of the gods in the Rgveda, frequently mentioned with Vrtra, the clouds; Agni, the fire in its three abodes, heaven, air and earth; two Asvins, apparently the morning and evening star; Ushas, the dawn; and thrice seven or thrice sixty Maruts, probably the winds in their aspect as bearing the storm clouds. Other manifestations of Nature made divine in the Rgveda are the moon, the sea, the rivers, the wind in other aspects etc. All these devas are personified and mainly represented as human in form, possessing various attributes which relate them to their respective natural phenomena. When the hymns of the Rgveda had become very old and their true significance was forgotten, there were many disputes and interpretations on the nature of these deities in the light of new knowledge and experience gained in later times. Apart from these personal gods, we have a number of abstract deities; they are either human faculties, such as śraddhā 'faith', manyu 'wrath', or state of activity or condition, such as aramati 'devotion'; anumati 'favour of the gods'; sūnrtā 'bounty', arāti 'avarice' etc.

One god Rudra, who is the subject of only three complete hymns and some other passages in the Rgveda, is of peculiar interest to the religious history of India. In

him, it is believed, there must undoubtedly be a sign of some unrecorded fusion between the Aryan and pre-Aryan religion. This view, which was previously based upon comparative study of the nature and character of Rudra in the Rgveda and Rudra-Siva of the later Vedic texts and post-Vedic literature, ^(*) is now strongly confirmed by the discovery of a seal ^(§) from the Indus valley, which is

(*) For instance, in one hymn of the Rgveda (Ek II, 33) the term Vrshabha is applied to Rudra five times, and he is called 'physician' of physicians, Isāna, Yuvan, Ugra, etc. He carries the bow and arrows and wears necklaces of all sorts and is followed by his hosts, and curiously enough in one of the stanzas in the hymn also occurs the term Kumāra. There is another term Trayambaka used in reference to Rudra in Ek VII, 59, 12. Even the name Siva is once applied (Ek X, 92, 9). The Atharvaveda (Ek VI, 90; Ek X, I, 30; Ek XI, 2, 22, 26; Ek XV) and the Yajurveda (especially Satarudriya Hymn - Vājasaneyī XVI; Taittiriya IV, 4, - and Trayambaka Homa - Vājasaneyī III 57-63; Taittiriya I, 8, 6,) and several other passages in Vedic texts throw a peculiar light on the question of Rudra's connection with Siva of later Sanskrit texts of the classical period. In the Vedic texts we find important traits of later Saivism, e.g. Rudra's terrible aspect already seen in the Rgveda is more prominent; his character as Pasupati 'Lord of animals' is more firmly established; he is associated with a female deity Ambikā and is also called Krttivāsa 'clad in skin' and so on.

(§) This seal is noticed above in Chapter II. Cf. Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol I, Chapter V, pp 52-56, Plate xii, 17. It really goes to the credit of E. Arhman who, before the Indus Valley became known, asserted on very good grounds, in his book on Rudra, Uppsala 1922, a Vedic refinement of primitive traits in Rudra-Siva cult (Saivism). Read specially pp 1-22 on Rudra in Rigveda.

carved with a male fertility god, having nearly all the specific attributes of Rudra-Siva of Vedic and later literature. Rudra's connection with fertility is to be seen from 'Somacrudraccharu' which is offered by one desirous of progeny. (*) Rudra is called in the Rgveda Tryambaka 'born of three mothers' (Ek VII, 59, 12), and this title may be explained by three distinct types of figurines of Mother-Goddess found in the Indus Valley, which may originally have been believed to be the cause of his birth. (§) Besides, Sir George Grierson has pointed out that the word Siva is Dravidian as well as Aryan. (o) In Dravidian it means red, while Rudra in places in the Rgveda seems to have almost the same meaning. This, if correct, would be a further possible reason for the identification of Rudra and Siva.

What seems probably to have happened is that this conquering Aryans themselves had no fertility god. They had the deity Rudra, who was, like most other Vedic deities, the personification of a natural phenomenon representing lightning that issued from dark clouds. Owing

(*) Yajurveda, Taittiriya Samhitā, II, 2, 10.

(§) Indian Culture, Madras-1940, pp-42-43. See below.

(o) Linguistic Survey of India, Vol IV, p.279.

Also E.S.O.S., Vol II, Part IV, p 810.

(§) Dr. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, Madras 1940, pp 42-43.

to the fear of his darts killing cattle and human beings, he was propitiated for their safety. In course of time, when the Aryans came in contact with the Indus Valley people, who had by then perhaps a Lord of animals (Posupati) and a fertility god in one person, Rudra was identified with the protector of animals, while the beneficent rains which apparently were caused by him connected him with fertility and vegetation. As such he was worshipped by a section of the Aryans which came in closer contact with the Indus people, an action which the true Aryans and their priests did not fully approve. This is why Rudra did not become at all a prominent god in the Sapta Sindhu, and why the fertility rites like phallic worship associated with the god and widely prevalent in the Indus valley were not officially recognised. Neither do we find any reference in the Rgveda to the female deity of fertility worshipped in that valley - the Mother Goddess, future consort of Rudra-Siva. Later on, however, when the Sapta Sindhu Aryans moved to the east and extended their dominion in India, Rudra assimilated to himself all the traits of fertility-god and Mother Goddess together with fertility-rites current among various non-Aryans tribes - including those expelled from the Indus Valley - whom the Aryans brought within their pale. All this is very well borne out by the literary evidence from Vedic texts downwards to that of the Purāṇas.

We have now to notice one important fact in regard to the deities of the Rgveda - the sacrifices. The essential nature of the devas on the whole is the highest goodness and boundless benevolence. They are possessed of the most irresistible might, inexhaustible energy, unbending will and moral greatness. What is more, they are ready to share in the struggle and strife, in the joys and sorrows of the Aryans. Their help was generally sought by the Aryans for victory in battles against their foes and for their general prosperity. This naturally drew forth from the seekers of divine help free-will sacrifices, together with prayers and praises, their chief object being to draw the devas near, milk their favour or seek their pardon. The sacrifices were believed to be the most effective means of communication with the devas, and for this Agni, who carried oblations to them, was the mediator between gods and Aryan worshippers.

The offerings made in sacrifices were of different material. The soma was the important drink offered in sacrifices; the whole Ninth Book of the Rgveda deals with the sacrificial Soma.^(*) Other things sacrificed were

(*) Sir Aurel Stein has recently given reasons for thinking that the plant from which the soma juice was obtained may have been wild Rhubarb (B.S.O.S., Vol VI, part 2, pp 506 ff). Another popular drink of the Aryans was sura, the corresponding Avestan Hura. Read also Vedic Index, Vol II, pp 474 ff.

oblations of grain, milk, clarified butter and the flesh of animals. There is enough evidence from the Rgveda to show that animals were sacrificed. As a matter of fact, meat was a regular and principal food of the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu, and, in order to offer flesh to the gods, the edible animals - ox, cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, etc. were often killed; their flesh was cooked, sacrificed and then partaken of by worshippers of the god to whom the sacrifice was made. (*) Agni is called ukshāṇna 'eater of bull' and vaśāṇna 'eater of cows' (Ek VIII, 43,11). Bulls were sacrificed to Indra (Ek X, 27,2; 86, 13,14). "The ritual of the cremation of the dead required the slaughter of a cow as an essential part, the flesh being used to envelope the dead body." (§) The cow, however, began to acquire special sanctity when its value for purposes other than eating was realized. (Ek VIII, 90). This is again shown by the name aghnyā 'not to be slain' applied to the cow in a number of passages in the Rgveda. Or, it may be, as is pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar, that this sanctity was due to the influence of pre-Aryan reverence (o) for the cow as a divinity.

Two more important points worth noticing in this

(*) Rgveda, Ek X, 91,14.

(§) Vedic Index, Vol II, p.147. Also Rgveda, Ek X, 16,7.

(o) Loc. Cit, p.75.

connection are the Asvamedha 'sacrifice of the horse' and Purushamedha 'human sacrifice', both rarer features of Aryan early as well as later ritual. Usually we see the victims, in the animal sacrifice, were chosen from among edible animals. The eating of horse-flesh has been almost unknown in India, but sometimes, as in the case of the horse-sacrifice, which is mentioned in the hymns (Ek I, 162 and 163), offerings of animals whose flesh was not eaten were made with some special motives. The object in view behind the performance of the horse-sacrifice in particular "may be considered as serving either to make swift the god, who thus appropriates the swiftness of the animal offered, and through the god to strengthen the man, or as is less likely it may be held to be merely dictated by the desire directly to secure the offerer the strength of the steed, or again it may be due merely to the feeling that the highest beast is in place at a great offering." As regards the human sacrifice, the Rgveda is not very clear on this question. But it is supposed by some (*) scholars like Hillebrandt, on the implications in certain passages of the Rgveda (Ek X, Funeral Hymn 18, 7-8 with reading yonim agne; 85, 21-22), that human sacrifice was practised by the side of the Asvamedha. In one passage of the Atharvaveda (Ek XI, 2,9) four living things are dedicated to Rudra as forming offerings to him in sacrifices;

(*) T.D.M.G. XL, pp 708-11; Vedische Mythologie, second edition, Breslau 1927-29, Vol I, p.120.

one of them is a man. From this it might be inferred that human sacrifices were sometimes offered to gods and this was an old practice. There is nothing improbable in this, for the practice of human sacrifice was quite prevalent among the ancient Indo-Europeans, and for the matter of that, among most ancient civilized peoples. We find numerous instances of it among the records of the ancient Greeks, Romans and Iranians. In any case, among the Vedic Aryans we have the unmistakable evidence of the Purushamedha (*) described in the Yajurveda and in the story of Sunahsepa (§) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa for the prevalence of this practice. Thus it is quite possible that gods were sometimes worshipped with human sacrifices. The practice, however, in the course of time, as is evident from the legend of Sunahsepa itself and the early Sūtras, was condemned by the Aryans, and eventually was stopped. But vestiges of it continued to linger on for a long time. And when we find in later Panjab the tenth saint and leader of the Sikhs, Guru Gobind Singh, mentioned as propitiating the Deity once or twice with an offering of a beloved follower or followers to ensure the triumph of his faith and mission, (o) we ought to see in it not a revolting or a

(*) Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, xxx.

(§) VII, 13 ff.

(o) Stories in this connection are given with many variations. Read Malcolm, A Sketch of the Sikhs, London 1812. p 53 and Dr. (now Sir) Gokal Chand Narang. Transformation of Sikhism, London 1912, p.79.

savage non-Aryan custom, but a survival in some form of an age-old practice and belief once very much respected in the Panjab and elsewhere in Aryan India.

So much for philosophy and gods. In this connection we have seen that the philosophical ideas of the Aryans were not borrowed from any external source, and that the characteristic religious thought of the Aryans centred around a few great deities with distinct personalities, who were invoked with offerings of various kinds. But it must be remembered that the religion in the Aryan-occupied Sapta Sindhu was not confined to personal and other deities. Their religion also included religious practices and beliefs, connected with ordinary life which were originally foreign to Aryanism. This was probably the result of natural contact between the conquerors and the conquered. Only a few of these un-Aryan practices and beliefs are traceable in the Rgveda. One of the reasons of their absence in this Veda seems to be that the non-Aryan contact with the Aryans was slighter in the Sapta Sindhu than it was later, when the Aryan conquerors advanced eastwards to the Ganges Valley. Here they became more fully associated and acquainted with the general culture of the natives, some elements of which were absorbed in course of time into Aryan society, but after being remodelled by Brahmans to accord better with their own religious notions. This is best shown by the fact

that there are clear indications of them in later Vedic texts. Of these the Atharvaveda is specially interesting; and, though it was not edited in the same place and time as the Rgveda¹⁴, it includes, as I have said already, some matter of non-Aryan origin which is as old as that of the Rgveda, and can thus be assigned to the early Aryans of the Sapta Sindhu.

In the Rgveda there are traces of isolated hymns containing superstitious rites and spells made for certain occasions like generation, marriage, illness, death, ploughing, the return of cattle from the pasture, their driving in and driving out, etc.^(*) But their variety is far greater in the Atharvaveda.^(§) Here the eventful life of woman, before, during and after marriage, has given rise to many superstitions rites. Here we have special ceremonies to be observed at birth and death, and come across many customs of the masses of the people. All diseases in the Atharvaveda are due to possession of demons and sorcerers. Curative influences such as amulets - we have plenty of them in the Indus Valley remains - derived from the vegetable kingdom are frequently employed.

(*) For example, the whole of Bk X, 162, to mention specially, is a prayer to Agni for the protection of garbha 'foetus' in the mother's womb against an unseen evil power. Other interesting hymns are Bk I, 191; Bk X, 85; 137; 163; 165; etc.
 (§) Consult Prof. Whitney's Atharvaveda Samhitā (Translated) Cambridge Mass 1905, H.O. Series, Vols 7 and 8.

Spirits of dangerous character are believed to reside on trees in the forest, drinking out of skulls of the dead as cups. Such evil spirits are again the cause of disturbances in sacrifices where they come assuming the forms of souls of pitrs, 'dead ancestors', to fetch offerings from them. Other examples of this kind can easily be found in the text. In short, the Atharvaveda is full of charms and spells to cure diseases, overcome evil spirits and kill enemies, benedictions for the benefit of farmers, shepherds and merchants, etc.

The most important feature underlying these practices and spells is the belief in spirits, generally evil, conceived in many forms. Such a religious view in the wide sense is styled animism, which recognizes spirits innumerable, shadowy beings for the most part, ghosts, demons, or identified with some animal, plant or tree, waters, or some disease, and the like. These beings are called in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda by different names - Rakshas or Rākshasas, Druhs, Yātudhānas, Gandharvas, Pisāchas, Asuras, etc. The Rgveda refers to them as three-faced and three-footed (Ek X, 87, 10), and as having the form of dogs, vultures, owls and other ominous birds that fly about at night (Ek III, 104, 80, 22). They can assume the form of husband, brother or lover (Ek X, 162, 5), and can approach the pregnant woman to destroy the child in her womb. In the Atharvaveda "they have mostly human

form, their head, eyes, heart and other parts being mentioned, but they have frequently some kind of monstrous deformity, being three-headed, two-mouthed, bear-necked, four-eyed, five-footed, fingerless, with feet turned backwards, or with horns on their hands". (Hk VIII, 6; Cf Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p 70).

Thus it will be seen that the early Vedic religion not only comprised the Aryan worship of natural powers, but also came to absorb other religious beliefs and rites with which the Aryans were unacquainted before they came into the Panjab. Why did they accept them in their Vedic worship? The most plausible reason is that their predecessors regarded them with favour. Moreover, we see that in later times the adoption of local non-Aryan institutions into the higher and organized Vedic Aryan society is a frequent phenomenon; a similar thing must also have happened in ancient days.

In continuation of these beliefs we shall now consider the view held by Aryans about the future life, as also their funeral practices. The conception of spirits, it is generally believed, originally started from the souls of the dead who were conceived to exist in many ways. That may have been so. The most important question in this connection is that of transmigration - a philosophical theory according to which the individual souls or spirits migrate from

body to body and object to object in accordance with their respective deeds. This doctrine of transmigration is universally found in the Upanishads, but is not clearly exposed in earlier Vedic texts, which mostly deal with personal gods, their worship and sacrifices. From this some scholars have held that the idea of transmigration had not developed in the earliest period of Aryan religion. This view, historically speaking, does not seem to be correct, if there are really at the bottom of the doctrine in question animistic ideas, such as the incorporation of the souls of the dead in animals or plants, for which there is evidence in early literature. Again, so fixed and unquestioned is the belief in the Upanishads that one can only feel that it had a long history behind it, and was worked up by intellectuals among the Aryans and who had inherited it from old days as a definite though not fully developed belief. References to migration of souls have been noticed in the Rgveda itself, (*) and that the doctrine was current at this early date is recognised by authorities like Geldner, (§) Oldenberg (o) and Bloomfield. (x)

(*) Bk I, 164, 30, 38; Bk X, 14,4; 16,3.

(§) Vedische Studien, Stuttgart 1889-1901, II, p.142.

(o) Die Religion des Veda, Berlin 1894, pp 563, 581f.

(x) The Religion of the Veda, New York, 1908, pp 255 ff.

Granted, the normal belief of the early Aryans was in Yama's heaven for good men, but this probably existed side by side with a belief that souls of indifferently good and bad men passed into animals and plants, as seems to be the idea expressed more definitely in the Rgvedic hymn X, 16. One is inclined to suspect that the original idea was that bad men went to hell or purgatory, and that the Vedic Aryans borrowed the idea of transmigration from animistic natives of the Indus Valley, though never reconciling the two doctrines for a long time. However, the two separate beliefs were in the course of time combined by imagining that rebirth followed the penalty of hell or reward of heaven. (*) So we see that reflections on problems about the life after death had no doubt begun among the Aryans, though the conceptions about it were still vague. In the main the coveted place with them after death was unquestionably the highest heaven, later called pitrloka, where the dead 'Fathers' had already gone and were united with Yama, the first among the departed ones and now the ruler of pitrloka, and from where the dead might also return home. (§) To say that the stanzas

(*) Contrast Paul Deussen, Philosophy of India, Eng.trans. Edinburg 1906, p 316.

(§) Rgveda, Bk X, 14-16, especially 14,8; Bk X 57,4. Also read Bk X, 27, 21; 56, 1; 107, 2; 154, 5; Bk I, 109, 7 and 125, 6.

quoted in the last footnote cannot imply "a return to the world after death because the doctrine of transmigration of the soul was unknown to the Rig-Vedic Aryans and that the doctrine of transmigration was unknown to them because there is no mention of it, is arguing in a circle."

The usual way in which the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu disposed of their dead was cremation, i.e. burning of the body, as described in the Rgveda (Funeral Hymns Bk X 15-18) and not burial. (*) It is quite possible that burning was intended by the Aryans to send the soul of the departed to the heaven. We have already seen that the usual method of disposing of the dead among the people of the Indus Valley was cremation and then preservation of the charred remains in funeral urns. One is tempted to attribute, if not the motive and the whole custom of cremation at least the practice of post-cremation burial in urns described in the Rgveda (X,18,10-13) to the influence of the Chalcolithic culture.

In view of the contact between the Indus Valley people and the early Aryans, various elements of the Indus

(*) Stanzas 10 to 13 in Bk X, 18 of the Rgveda are supposed (Vedic Index, Vol I, pp 8-9; Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, Second Half, pp 417 f) as referring to the burying of the unburnt body. In fact they refer to the burying in a funeral urn of the remains of a body that has already been cremated. The word anagnidagdha 'not burnt with fire' (Bk X, 15, 14; Also Vājasaneyī Samhitā, xix, 60; Atharvaveda, xviii, 2, 34) does not necessarily mean 'buried'; it "may as well refer to those who could not be cremated by accident." (Cf. Burial mound at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar - Cambridge History of India Vol I, p 616.)

culture, we see, survived the Aryan invasion of the Panjab. Not all these were adopted by the early Aryans in Sapta Sindhu. Some of them that were possibly absorbed have been noticed. In addition, the two adapted and refined deserve special mention. One appears to be image-worship. That images of gods were used for worship by the later Aryans in the Panjab is clear from Pāṇini, the well-known grammarian, who belonged to that country. He recognizes in one of his Sūtras (v,3,99) the use of the name of a god to denote his image. Idolatry, as we know, was universally practised by the Indus Valley people; the prehistoric Aryans, on the contrary, did not use idols. It will, therefore, be not unreasonable to suppose that the practice which was so common throughout India in the times depicted by the Epics and Purāṇas developed first in the Sapta Sindhu and afterwards in the rest of India. The evidence of such transition is seen in the R̥gveda. We have reference to an image of Indra (R̥k IV, 24,10) which was to be hired out for a payment of ten cows, and which was to be returned after use. A number of other passages, (*) now interpreted more satisfactorily in the light of external evidence, certainly go to prove that

(*) R̥k I, 21, 2; R̥k II, 33, 8-9; R̥k III, 4,5; etc.

Read in this connection Prof. Venkateshwar's article on "Origins of Hindu Iconism" in I.H.Q., 1927.

Aryan worship was influenced, though to a small extent as yet, by the very popular use of idols in the Indus Valley. The origin of temples and the installation of images of gods, which became the regular mode of worship of all faiths in post-Vedic India, is also to be attributed, not to any influence outside India, but to the natural and gradual effect of the pre-Aryan system of worship. The great building or central hall of Harappa is probably an evidence of a congregational religious life and public worship.

Another important influence exercised was the cult of primitive yoga,^(*) which does not harmonise with the normal outlook of the Rgvedic Aryans, but seems to have been followed in some quarters of the Sapta Sindhu, in a somewhat modified form. The Rgveda describes the Munis, also called the Kesins 'the long-haired ones', and the Yatis. The description of them both, when read in conjunction with the Atharvaveda, clearly suggests their connection with the earliest form of Rudra-Śiva worship,^(§) chiefly

(*) Described in the Rgveda, Bk X, 72,7; 136; Bk I, 179; Atharvaveda, Bk XV. The earliest form of yoga, it appears, only aimed at mastering organic life with a view to endowing it with supernatural powers. Ideas of lofty spirituality, pessimism, individualism, etc., intimately connected with yoga, are, like other ideas of religious thought in India, later developments, mostly as the result of contempt for orthodox Brahmanic ritualism.

(§) The Atharvaveda (Bk XV) indicates that the Aryans designated this worship as 'Vrātya' and called its followers Vrātyas. This book "sets forth the mystic glorification of the Vrātya who seems to be the deity of some non-Aryan cult (in all likelihood primitive Śiva) regarded differently by his original votary now that he has imbibed the Aryan culture in full." Dr. Bhandarkar, loc.cit, p 40.

represented by the image of the god in the posture of a Yogin on the Indus seal that has already been discussed. This Indus worship, as we have seen, was connected with the cult of the linga, indicated by numerous phallic stones discovered from Indus Valley sites. The phallic cult, however, did not find general acceptance. Among the early Aryans in Sapta Sindhu, as is evident from the contemptuous way in which the Sisna-devas, 'those who have (*) a phallus for their deity', are referred to in the Rgveda. That the practice of phallic worship which was originally despised by the Aryans because of its repulsive features, should be allowed later to become a part of the worship of one of their gods appears rather strange. But it must be remembered that the old beliefs and practices were gradually taken up and developed by the non-Aryan and Aryan Minis and Yatis and other thoughtful people in the course of time. Thus began a movement which profoundly affected later religious thought and practices of the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu and elsewhere in India, but with one difference - in the Panjab the old liberal conditions of the Rgvedic ages continued for a long time, while on the east of that country, in the so-called Madhya-desa, later Brahmanism developed ritualistic Vedism by elaborating endless mechanical details of sacrifice. The first available

(*) Bk VII, 21, 5; Bk X, 99, 3. See above p. 194.

able literary evidence for this difference is to be found in the passages of one Sūtra Book (Bandhāyana Dharma-sūtra, I,1, 30, Mysore Govt. Oriental Series) and the Mahābhārata (Bk VIII, Chapters xlv and xlv. Calcutta edition). In them the whole cosmopolitan Panjab, obviously owing to misunderstanding of past traditions, has been unreasonably blamed by some Brahmans with different culture.

From what has been stated above in respect of Sapta Sindhu culture - its social, material, philosophical and religious development -, as also in respect of the character of Rgvedic language and literature, of which we spoke in chapters I and III, it may be concluded that the Aryans of the ancient Panjab were intellectually a superior people. It is rightly admitted by all scholars of antiquity that there were no ancient peoples of that age either in Asia or Europe who were as advanced as the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu. Takshasīlā, as stated above, has been in the past the most famous seat of learning in the Aryan Panjab; it was in fact the first ancient intellectual centre, to which people flocked from various parts of India. If the connection between Takshasīlā and Br̥hu Takshan, the enemy of the Panis, is true, (*) the foundation of the city (§) may possibly go as far back as early Vedic times, though

(*) Hillebrandt, loc.cit. second edition, Vol I. p.516.

(§) The early foundation of the city is also supported by the story told in the Rāmāyana and Purānas of Bharata having conquered Gāndhāra, and of his son Taksha founding Takshasīlā in that country. This is probably a restatement in another form of the real fact that Gāndhāra and its City
(continued)

education on the University system perhaps started somewhere in the later Vedic period. That some kind of education at an early date existed in the Sapta Sindhu is shown by the fact that the word brahmachārin occurs in the Rgveda (Ek X, 109, 5), which clearly indicates that studentship was a social institution. In this stanza Brhaspati is represented as separated from his wife and wandering about like a brahmachārin. The word here is undoubtedly used in the secondary sense of celibacy or continence. But this presupposes the primary sense of the term, namely, a religious student solely devoted to Brahma (Veda). In this connection the authors of the Vedic Index (*) observe that "the practice of studentship doubtless developed, and was more strictly regulated by custom as time went on, but it is regularly assumed and discussed in the later Vedic literature, being obviously a necessary part of Vedic society." Details of the educational system and student life, which are available only from later texts, are lacking in the Rgveda. However, the regular teaching of students by a teacher is referred to in the so-called Frog Hymn (Ek VII, 103). In this hymn the poet Vasishṭha, moved by the awakening of the frogs at the advent of the rainy season, compares their

continued) Takshasīṭā had in remote past been associated with the Bharatas of the Sapta Sindhu.

(*) Vol II, p 75.

croaking to the recitation by pupils of their lessons in Vedic mantras, in imitation of their teacher. This shows that the instruction imparted was chiefly or wholly oral, especially the religious instruction which was desired to be memorized and recited on the occasion of sacrifices. It was probably from brahmachārī types of students that the intelligentsia of Sapta Sindhu society was formed. But the most learned of men, it seems, were perhaps the poet-seers or rshis^(*) of the hymns, who were found all over the country in villages, towns and cities. They composed hymns which were recited at Vedic sacrifices offered to gods, and also sang the praises in honour of Rajans who patronized their learning. Each particular rshi family - these were for instance Viśvāmitra, Vasishtha, Kanva, Vamadeva, Bharadvāja, etc - "functioned as a Vedic school where its own stock of hymns was conserved and transmitted from sire to son, or preceptor to pupil."

The religious instruction, as we have seen, was on the whole verbal, and the texts had to be memorized and then passed down by tradition from ear to ear and generation (§) to generation. This, however, does not prove that writing was

(*) These also included lady rshis like Ghoshā (X, 40 etc) and others, mentioned in later Vedic traditions.

(§) This system of oral transmission survived in India until recent times. The best example of it is to be found from the Sikhs of the Panjab, whose religious texts were at first transmitted through oral tradition and then collected and compiled into the Granth.

unknown, especially for profane purposes. According to many scholars, no true system of writing (as distinct from pictographs) existed in India before 800 B.C., but this view is not universally accepted. It is very likely that writing was employed early for secular purposes. What particular script the Aryans used in earlier times is very difficult to ascertain with the present state of our knowledge. Probably they adopted with modifications the Indus script, which later on, say about 800 B.C., when needed for literary purposes, was found unsatisfactory and given up in favour of a suitable script borrowed from the (*)
neighbouring countries. The most ancient writing, Brāhmī, used in the Panjab and elsewhere in India, which has been known from the earliest dated (third century B.C.) inscription of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, seems to be a development of an alphabet now generally believed Semitic in origin. (§) "It was probably brought into India through Mesopotamia, as a result of the early commerce by sea between Babylon and the ports of Western India." A great deal of this commerce, even from Chalcolithic times, belong-

(*) So called because it is supposed to have come from the god Brahma.

(§) Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, Strassburg 1898. Eng. trans. (1904), edited by J.F. Fleet. See also Ind. Ant. vol. xlviii, pp 57 ff; J.A.S.B., 1921, pp 209 ff. Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Vols, III, Pt I, 4493 ff. V. Smith, Early History of India, Third edition, p.28 f.n.

(*)
ed to the Indus Valley.

(*) Another foreign script, introduced into the north-west of India probably in the sixth century B.C., was Kharoshthī; it was Aramaic in origin and commonly used at Takshasīfā.

Chapter V.

The Origin of Aryans in Later Tradition.

The foregoing political account of the Aryans of the Panjab has been based on a study of the R̥gveda and later Vedic literature, without much regard for tradition outside, except for the Epic tradition respecting the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, in so far as it appeared historical. We have in the Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, which are partly Purāṇic, a vast body of tradition that, when collated, gives a different story of the Aryans, their origin and expansion in India.

The Purāṇas which yield most material for our purposes - genealogies and accounts of kings mentioned therein, - may be considered first. They form part of the Canon of Eighteen Purāṇas, ^(*) which comprises the following :- Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu (Śiva), Bhāgavata, Nārada or Nāradiya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhaviṣya, Brahma-vaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa, and Brahmāṇḍa. It is not necessary to refer here to the Upapurāṇas, i.e. Lesser or Secondary Purāṇas, amounting to the same number. They lack interest for a student of ancient history, most of them being written

(*) Winternitz: Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Eng.trans. by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the author, vol I. Calcutta 1927, pp.530-578

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in very recent times. The Harivamśa, which is a supplement to the Mahābhārata and not a part of the original Epic, is really a Purāṇa. Like the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, it treats of Hari, particularly in the form of Viṣṇu, and contains many curious legends and genealogies, which should be studied along with those of the Purāṇas.

Each Purāṇa must should treat of the following five specified subjects: (*)

- (1) Sarga, i.e. creation of the universe.
- (2) Pratisarga, i.e. renovation after pralaya (periodical dissolution of the universe).
- (3) Vamśa, i.e. genealogies of gods, kings and rshis.
- (4) Manvantara, i.e. chronology (four Yugas or Ages).
- (5) Vamśānuśarita, i.e. history of gods and the royal dynasties ruling during the four Ages.

Thus the historical material, if really it can be called so, is to be found in the subjects Nos (4) and (5), but this ideal scheme of five subjects is not fully followed in the extant Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas, we must understand, are the obvious compositions by Brahmans for the instruction of the kings and the people in the matter of dharma in all its branches. They largely represent the popular side of Hindu religion,

(*)
Sargas cha pratisargas cha vamśo manvantarāṇi cha,
Vamśyānu-charitam chaiva Purāṇam pañcha-lakṣhaṇam.

Found in many Purāṇas, e.g. Vāyu 4,10-11; Matsya 53,65.

3.

or, more properly, of later Brahmanism. Accordingly we have in them praises of the gods like Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva, Sūrya and Prithvī, knowledge about the cults of the Śaktis, Jainism and Buddhism, about the worship of rivers etc and instructions on sacrifices, austerities and gifts, so that the Puranas practically rank as scriptures of Hinduism, though they lack the sanctity and purity of the Vedas. Therefore it is that we find in them many clear traces of the influence of popular speech (Prakritism) on the Brahman composers and transmitters of the tradition. The popular side of Brahmanism is at once obvious and convincing, as is shown by Bühler.^(*) The traditions and genealogies of kings, which mainly illustrate the vanity of human wishes, also appear to have been made out by Brahmans for religious purposes and for the establishment of their superiority in society. Their underlying religious purpose is thus emphasized in the Vishnu Purāṇa:^(§) "He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of Ikshvāku, Jahnu, Mandhātri (Mādhātr), Sagara and Raghu, who have all perished; of Yayāti, Nahusha and their posterity, who are no more: of kings of great might, resistless valour and unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more powerful time, and are now, only a tale; Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the

(*) Sacred Books of the East, vol.II.p.xxx.

(§) Wilson: Vishnu Purana, Eng.Trans., London 1840, Bk IV, chap xxiii, pp.488-89.

4.

principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands, property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own."

An aim similar to that of the Purāṇas was also taken by earlier works, the two Epics, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana. Here the original stories have been transformed by Brahmans into religious tales. That the Brahmans' object was to make the Epics, as far as possible, Brahmanical encyclopaedias for the kings and the people and a powerful means in their hands of swaying the non-Brahman mind, is unquestionable. In this plan of aggrandisement, however, the Purāṇas have remained superior to the Epics, the composers of which, though narrow-minded and intolerant to a large extent, were not as sectarian in their outlook as those of the Purāṇas.

But a Purāṇa, according to the statements in the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu, is supposed to be narrated by the Sūta in virtue of the duties that appertained to his caste. The Sūta, who was not a Brahman, was patronised by the king for this purpose; the Vāyu Purāṇa says, "The Sūta's special duty as perceived by good men of old was to preserve the genealogies of gods, ṛshis and most glorious kings, and the traditions of great men, which are displayed by those who declare sacred lore in the Itihāsas and

(*) Purāṇas." This and similar other statements in the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata have been taken to show a different origin of the Purāṇas and to indicate that the traditions upon which the extant Purāṇas are based were not in the possession of Brahmans originally, but that they had been current from remote antiquity, probably in an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes, (§) eventually to become the source of Purāṇic and Epic genealogies, legends and stories, which material again was collected, rendered into Sanskrit by Brahman compilers and extended by them to include religious elements in order to propagate their doctrines, enforced with the authority of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the legendary editor. (o) This theory of an ancient Prakrit origin of the Purāṇas and their subsequent appropriation and transformation into Brahmanical works, as put forth by Pargiter, has not met with approval generally, and is regarded as altogether conjectural, being unsupported by evidence.

In any case, our chief interest in the Purāṇas and Epics at this stage lies in the fact that they are said to contain historical data in the form of genealogies of ancient kings and traditions connected with them. This would, in consequence, make the Purāṇas and Epics authoritative in

(*) Vāyu Purāṇa I, 31-2. Quoted by Pargiter in his Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, chapter II, p.15.

(§) Pargiter: Dynasties of the Kali Age, Introduction, Oxford 1913, p.xvii § 28. f.n.2.

(o) Ibid f.n.2. Also see Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, chap II.pp.21-24.

historical matters relating to the earliest political development in India, whereas very little importance is attached to them as authentic sources for ancient history. Pargiter, who devoted an extensive study to these works, has concluded that there are reasons for holding that the Purāṇas existed in the fourth century B.C. and were authoritative even then. (*) The history of the earliest times, in India, according to him, ought to be based on a study of the Purāṇas, i.e. their genealogical accounts which contain a large and reliable quantity of historical matter, rather than on that of the Vedas, which are wholly theological in character. We shall, therefore, before discussing this view, proceed to give, as is essential for our history of early Vedic period, the story of the Aryans, as gleaned by Pargiter from these sources.

Tradition, recorded in them, tells of the earliest king named Manu Vaivasvata, son of Vivasvant (the Sun), to whose race is applied the title 'Solar' (also Mānava). He had nine sons and a daughter Ilā or Idā, from whom were descended all the dynasties that ruled in ancient India. Ilā or Idā bore to Budha Purūravas Aila or Aida, who started ruling at Pratisthāna (Prayāga or Allahabad) and to whom is applied the title 'Lunar', because tradition made Budha a descendant from Soma (the Moon).

(*) Loc.cit. Chapter IV, pp. 54-55. This is also shown by V. Smith. See his Early History of India, third edition, p.23.

All the Purāṇas (including Harivamśa), except the late Varāha, Vāmana, Skanda, Nārada, Brahmavaivarta, and the Bhaviṣya, which does not deal with the ancient past, give the whole list of kings of both these Houses more or less completely. Of them the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa have the best texts of the genealogies, their accounts agreeing fairly closely. The Rāmāyana gives the list twice^(*) down to Rāma of the Solar House and also a portion of the Lunar pedigree elsewhere.^(§) The Mahābhārata, as already noticed, has genealogical lists of the Lunar House twice, which differ a good deal, as also the early part of the Solar as far as Drdhāśva^(o) and small portions of both Houses in several places.

In these genealogies it is curious to find Ilā, who gave birth to Purūravas, turning afterwards into a man by name Sudyumna. He had three sons Utkala, Gayā, and Vinatāśva (or Haritāśva), who obtained three kingdoms in the east of India and were called Saudyumnas.

The nine sons of Manu mentioned were Ikshvāku, Nabhāga,^(x) Dhṛṣṭa, Saryāti, Narishyanta, Prāmsu, Nabhānedishtha, Kārusa and Prishadhra. The eldest Ikshvaku, won territory in Madhyadesa and ruled from Ayodhya. From him originated the great Aikshvāka dynasty of Ayodhya, which is generally

(*) Bk. I, 70, 21-44; Bk. II, 110, 6-35. These genealogical lists, however, which are practically the same, are said to be incomplete and such as containing misplaced names, when compared with lists in the Puranas and Mahābhārata.

(§) Bk. I, 32, 1-34.

(o) Bk. III, 201, 13515-19; 203, 13614-22.

(x) The Vāyu has Nahusha instead, for whom Pargiter substitutes Nabhāga.

known as the Solar House. He had a hundred sons, of whom Vikukshi was the eldest and his successor. His other sons founded numerous kingdoms in north and south India, which continued for a long time until eclipsed by those of the descendants of Purūravas, as we shall notice presently. Among them Nemi was famous, who became the progenitor of an important dynasty with its capital at Videha. This line is traced from his son Mithi, from whom the country was named Mithilā. He was also called Janaka, and must be distinguished from Śiradhvaja Janaka, father of Sītā, and father-in-law of Rāma. (*) Very little is recorded about other sons of Manu. From Dhrshta sprang a number of clans (§) called Dhārshtakas, who, according to Śiva Purāṇa, occupied the Bāhlika country in the Panjab. Nabhāga and his son Ambarīsha probably reigned on the river Jumna. Śaryāti's kingdom lay in the extreme west in the region bordering the gulf of Cambay. His successor Ānarta gave the name Ānarta to Gujarat. Narishyanta and Prāmsu were of the Vaisāla dynasty, as was also Nabhānedishtha. From Karusha were descended the Karushas; while Prshadhra was cursed for having killed his teacher's cow. The most celebrated kings in this House were Māndhātṛ, Harischandra, son of Trisanku,

(*) (*) Cf. Rāmāyana, Bk VII, 81, 18-19.
 (§) Bk VII, 60, 20.

Sagara, Bhagīratha. Ambarīsha, Sudāsa (different from Sudās, king of North Pañchāla, and of Rgvedic fame), Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma.

In the Lunar House, which had its capital at Pratishthāna, Āyu succeeded Purūravas Aila; while a brother of his, Amāvasu, established himself at Kanyakubja (Kanauj) and Kshatravṛddha, a son of Āyu, founded the kingdom of Kāśī (Benares). Āyu was succeeded by Nahusha, who expanded his kingdom. Under his son Yayāti, who was a great conqueror, the Aila kingdom quickly grew into an empire. Its northward progress, however, was checked by the Aikshvāka power. The territory as far as river Sarasvatī in the Panjab and the territories lying to the west, south and south-east of his kingdom were all conquered by Yayāti. Thus at this time the Ailas had dominated a large part of north India, overcoming the Mānavas, to whom were now only left Ayodhyā, Videha, Vaisāla and Ānarta.

Yayāti divided all his territories among his five sons Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, who founded five kingdoms and from whom were descended the five famous royal dynasties of the Yadus or Yādavas, Turvasus, Druhyus, Anus or Ānavas and Pūrus or Pauravas. Pūru, the fifth and youngest, was the most dutiful son of Yayāti, and therefore received for obeying his wishes the ancestral sovereignty of Madhyadesa with its capital at Pratishthāna. The genealogy of his descendants as found in the tradition is already dis-

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cussed above, and need not be repeated.

Yadu received the south-west, i.e. the region watered by the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Ken. In his line, it may be mentioned, the Yādavas divided into two great branches - Haihayas and Yādavas, occupying the southern and northern half of the original kingdom. The Haihayas comprised five dynasties, the Vīṭihotras, Śaryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tundīkeras. Among the Yādavas, who divided into several lines, may be mentioned the important name of Satvata, whose four sons Bhajamāna, Devavṛdha, Andhaka and Vṛshni were each founders of dynasties. It was in the line of Vṛshni (Mādrī's side) that the last three princes Śūra, Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa with his brother Balarama were born.

Turvasu obtained the south-east; and according to the Brahmānda, Vāyu, Brahma and Harivamśa, a branch of his line migrated to the south of India and established the dynasties of the Pāṇdyas, Cholas, Keralas, etc.

To the next two sons of Yayāti, Druhyu and Anu, were allotted kingdoms in and near the Panjab. The line of Druhyu princes, which moved to the north-west in course of time, founded the important dynasty and kingdom of Cāndhāra.

(*)
Druhyu's progeny is given by nine Purāṇas and runs as

(*) Brahmānda III, 74, 7-12; Vāyu 99, 7-12; Brahma 13, 148-53; Harivamśa 32, 1837-41; Matsya 48, 6-9; Vishṇu IV, 17; Garuḍa I, 139, 64-65; Agni 276, 4-5; Bhāgavata IX, 23, 14-16. The Agni by mistake includes the Cāndhāra princes in the dynasty of Turvasu. The Brahma and Harivamśa wrongly divide the line into two, assigning to Druhyu the successors down to Cāndhāra, whereas Dharma and the remainder to Anu. Cf. Pargiter: Loc.cit. Chapter IX, pp. 106 and 108.

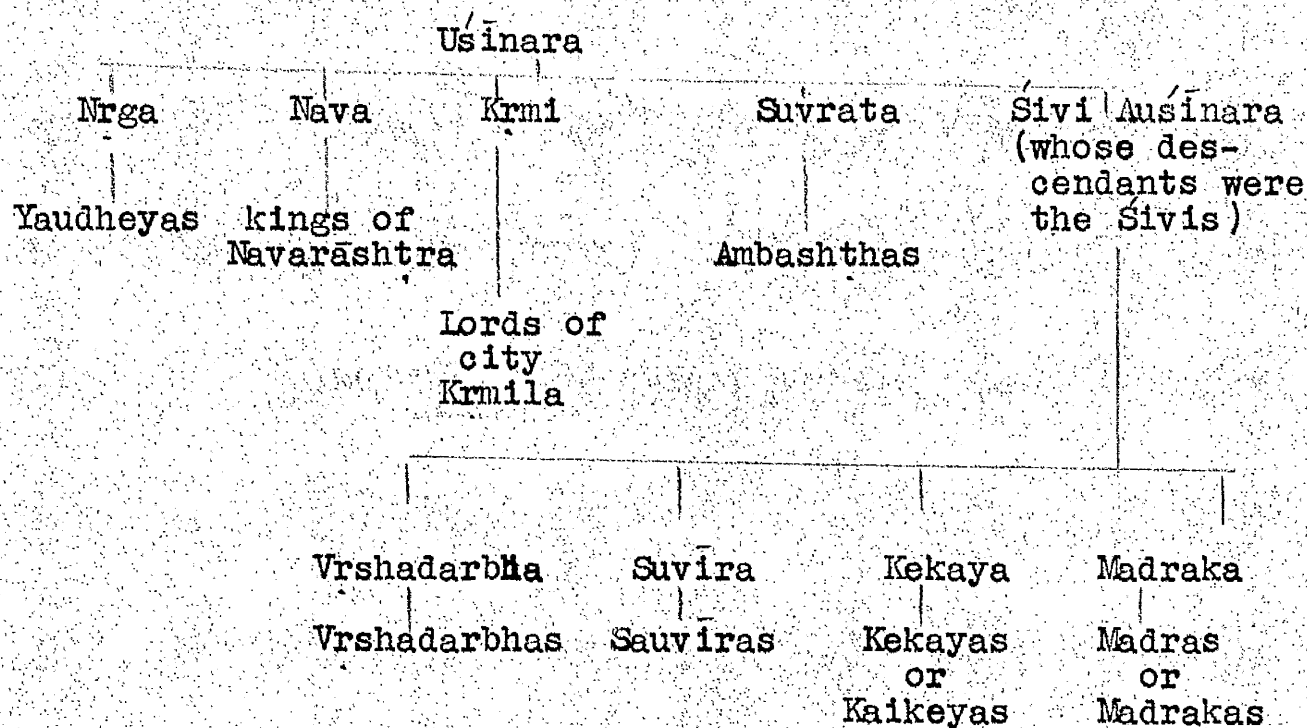
follows:

"Druhyu with two sons Babhru and Setu, then Setu's descendants, Angāra-Setu (this, Pargiter points out, has variations, he however accepts Angāra, which is supported by Mahābhārata, Bk XII, 29,981, cf. also id. Bk III, 126,10465.), Gāndhāra, Dharma, Dhṛta (has variations), Durdama (has variations) Prac(ch)etas, to whom the Brahma and Harivaṃśa add Suc(ch)etas." (*) Anu's descendants are also mentioned in nine Purāṇas. Six names after him are Sabhānara, Kālānala, Srñjaya, Purañjaya, Mahāsāla and Mahāmanas. The Anavas after the last-named prince divided into two branches under his two sons Usīnara and Titikshu, the latter migrating from the Panjab and establishing himself in the east of India among the Sandyumnas, where the Anava kingdom became split into five among his descendants, Ceil, Aiga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Pundra and Brahma. Usīnara remained in the Panjab, where his descendants flourished and were able to found a number of kingdoms. His pedigree is more fully given by the Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, Brahma and Vishnu. Two of his sons Nrga (\$) and Suvrata carved out the kingdoms of the Yaudheyas and Ambashthas respectively; two others, Nava and Kṛmi, founded minor principalities; while his eldest son Sivi, who was most famous, largely extended his sway and founded a large Sivi

(*) Brahmāṇḍa III, 74, 12f; Vāyu, 99, 12f; Brahma, 13, 14f; Harivaṃśa, 31, 1669f; Matsya, 48, 10f; Vishnu IV, 18, 1; Agni, 276, 5f; Garuḍa I, 139, 65 f; Bhāgavata IX, 23, 1f. All are in substantial agreement. The Brahma and Harivaṃśa, however, wrongly make the Anavas a branch growing out of Kaksheyu, son of Rudraśva, a Paurava prince. Cf. Pargiter, loc.cit. Chapter IX, pp. 108-9.

(§) Probably referred to in Mahābhārata, Bk. IX, 55, 3029-31.

Kingdom. Śivi begot four sons, who each started a dynasty named after him, viz. the Madrakas, Kaikeyas, Sauvīras and Vrshadarbhas. This pedigree of Uśīnara may be expressed in the following table, showing all his descendants, with the kingdoms founded by them:-



Let us now briefly survey the traditional history of the two Houses with special reference to the Panjab, as furnished by the genealogies just described. Much has been said in them of the numerous dynasties, kingdoms, kings, heroes and the foundation of the ancient cities. But it must be noted that this history is a product of Madhyadesa. It is true that among its ancient legends and stories some stray traditions from other parts of India have been woven in, yet the main subject remains the story of two dominant Houses in Madhyadesa, round which the whole history revolves. The compilers of the Purānas and Epics, in fact, cared little for anything outside that part of India, so that we get very scant information in regard to the north-west, the Uttarāpatha of tradition, that is, the Solar Dhārshtakas and the Lunar Druhyus and Ānavas, who are said to have spread over and ruled the Panjab.

In this traditional history, we are told, the royal power first developed in Madhyadesa in the towns of Ayodhya and Pratishtāna. Ikshvāku, Purūravas and their immediate descendants occupy the first page of all history. They were at the beginning of things and by them and their successors the whole of India was subdued. The Lunar accounts begin with Purūravas and end with Dushyanta and his posterity, which leads up to the Bhārata War. The

The Yādavas and Haihayas, both offshoots in the line of Yadu, who developed great kingdoms, are also treated fully. It is noteworthy that the history of the Aila or Lunar House is described only in the Pūru and Yadu lines in greater detail than that of the Mānava or Solar House. The latter, as will be seen, occupied originally the greater part of India, but steadily lost ground before the Ailas, who, it is said, entered Madhyadeśa from mid-Himalayan region. This explains why Ilāvṛta, the cradle of the Ailas, which became a mythical sacred abode in tradition, is treated with veneration, and no sacred memories are associated with the Uttarāpatha, which was largely the Panjab.

Naturally, the Purānic history, having for its objective Madhyadeśa, seeks to show that all kings and royal dynasties throughout India belonged either to the Solar or the Lunar House. Of the former the Aikshvākas were pre-eminent at Ayodhyā. The Panjab was occupied by the less prominent Dhārṣṭakas and possibly the descendants of Nābhāga's line. We know practically nothing about these Panjab lines in this history. The Ayodhyā kings, however, are said to have risen to a paramount position at two epochs, first under Māndhātṛ and again under Sagara.

Māndhātṛ was a very famous king who extended his

sway so widely that he was called both a Chakravartin and a Samrāj. It is said that he had a long contest with the Lunar Druhyu king Aruddha or Angāra in the Panjab. (*) and at last killed him, (§) so that his kingdom extended far to the north. The lunar Ānava kings of the eastern Panjab too from their position probably felt Māndhātṛ's power, for he sacrificed in the country called afterwards Kurukshetra, which was perhaps Ānava. (o) It was after Māndhātṛ's death, when his empire declined, that great movements occurred among the Ānavas and Druhyus in the Panjab. The former rose to great prominence at this time under two able kings, Mahāsāla and Mahāmanas. Mahāmanas appears to have occupied a large part of the Panjab, as is evident from his title, lord of the seven Dvīpas or Doabs. (x) He had two sons, Usīnara and Titikshu, under whom his line divided into two distinct branches - the Ānavas of the west and the Ānavas of the east. The Titikshu branch moved eastward and, passing beyond Videha and Vaiśālī country, settled in the east, where it developed

(*) Vāyu, 99, 7-8; Brahmandā III, 74, 7-8; Vishnu IV, 17, 2; Bhāgavata IX, 23, 15; Matsya, 48, 6. Also Brahma 13, 149-50; Harivaṃśa, 32, 1837-8; Mahābhārata XII, 29, 981-82. Cf. Pargiter, loc.cit. p.167.

(§) Mahābhārata III, 126, 10465. Pargiter, loc.cit. p.167.

(o) Mahābhārata III, 126, 10467.

(x) Vāyu, 99, 16-17; Brahmandā III, 74, 15-16; Matsya, 48, 14.

into five kingdoms, named above. The other branch extended its conquests in the west, and at this time held in the western Panjab the kingdoms of the Madras, Kaikeyas, Sauvīras, and Vrshadarbhas, originated by Usīnara's son Sivi. These kingdoms perhaps came into existence before Māndhātṛ's successors, Trisāṅku and his son Harischandra, (*) who are said to have married Kaikeya and Saivya princesses respectively. Besides, there were Ānava kingdoms in the eastern Panjab, which comprised those of the Yaudheyas, Ambashthas, Navarāshṭra and the city Kṛmila.

The Druhyus now held the north-west corner of India. The successor of Angāra was Gāndhāra, who gave his name Gāndhāra to this part of the country, to which he had been confined as the result of Ānava expansion after Māndhātṛ. According to four of the nine Purānas, which give genealogical account of the Druhyus, Prachetas' descendants spread out into the ^{CAH} Mlechhā countries, ⁽⁵⁾ which are understood by Pargiter as those lying to the north beyond India. From this ambiguous reference he is led to think that the Vedic gods Indra, Varuna, Mitra and Nāsatyas, mentioned in the Boghaz-köi inscriptions of c.1400 B.C., indicate that there was an Aila outflow of (*) Eleventh and twelfth in descent.

(§) Brahmānda, Vāyu, Matsya and Vishnu. The first three read thus:-

Prachetasah putra-sātam rājānah sarva eva te,
mlechhā^{CAH}-rāshtrādhipāh sarve hy udīchīm disam āśritāh.

Cf. Pargiter, loc.cit. Chapter IX, p.108, with footnote.

the Panjab Druhyus through Afghanistan into Iran and farther westwards into the Hittite Empire, in which they founded various kingdoms and introduced their religion among certain nations there. (*) Pargiter goes further and fixes the seventeenth century as the date of this migration beyond the Panjab. He also holds that the Ailas or Aryas, who according to tradition had their original abode in Ilāvṛta, situated in mid-Himalaya, entered Madhyadeśa earlier still, that is, about 2050 B.C., and that thus (§) there could possibly have been no Indo-Iranian period.

An account of the two lines of the Lunar or Aila House, which were closely connected with the Panjab, has been given above. The Main Aila line, the Pauravas, together with Kānyakubja and Kāśī branches, continued to exist in Madhyadeśa in spite of Solar expansion. But important developments had occurred meanwhile in the line of Yadu, which divided into two great branches by this time, named the Yādavas and Haihayas. The Yādava branch rose to great eminence, so much so that one of its kings, Śaśabindu, is said not only to have encroached upon the territory of the Pauravas, but also to have driven the Druhyus further back into the Panjab. It appears that Mādhātṛ's advance was a challenge to Yādava movements in the north, which resulted in an eclipse of the Yādavas.

(*) Pargiter, it may be noted, is following here Jacobi's interpretation of the Mitanni gods discussed in Chapter III above.

(§) Pargiter, Loc.cit. Chapter XXV, pp. 300-1.

Next, that is, after Māndhātṛ's epoch, it is found that while there were reactions to his conquests in the Panjab among the Ānavas and Druhyus, there followed reactions among the Haihayas, who now rose to great power under their warrior king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya. He was opposed to the Bhārgava Brahmans and drove them from their settlement on the Narmadā into Madhyadesa, where they sought alliance with Kshatriyas of Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā. The fruit of this fateful alliance was Jamadagni, whose youngest son Rāma^(§) destroyed the Haihayas under Tālajangha, but only for a time.

The Haihayas, however, rose again under the descendants of Tālajangha after Parasurama, and established their dominions all over north India, overthrowing Kanyakubja and Ayodhya with the co-operation of foreign hordes from the north-west, such as the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas and Pahlavas.^(o) It is said that Bāhu, king of Ayodhyā, was driven from his throne to seek shelter in the forest, where he begot a son Sagara. Sagara, eighth in descent from Harisohandra and twentieth from Māndhātṛ became a great king. He made many conquests in India, and subdued the Pauravas and especially his enemies the Tālajangha Haihayas, who had grown very strong. His

(*) Rohika Aurva married Satyavati, daughter of Gadhi, king of Kānyakubja. Their son was Jamadagni, who married a prince of Ayodhyā.

(§) Better known as Paraśurāma because of his special weapon, the battle-axe, paraśu.

(o) Pargiter, Loc.cit. Chapter XXIV, p.268.

destruction would naturally have carried him to the Panjab, for he intended to destroy the foreign tribes, but he was forbidden to do so by Vasishtha, his preceptor. (*) But the supremacy of Ayodhyā, which was revived by the celebrated Sagara, was short-lived. The Pauravas renewed their power under Dushyanta, eventually coming to dominate a large part of India. Yet Ayodhyā had short periods of restored greatness, first under Bhagīratha and then under a succession of kings like Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha, by whose time it was known as Kosala. The Rāmāyana shows that at the time of Daśaratha Kosala had friendly relations with the Panjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra. Kaikeyī, the favourite wife of Daśaratha, came from the Panjab.

(*) It appears that Brahman compilers of tradition greatly confused ancient events. All events leading to destruction, wrought by the Tālajanghas and Sagara, are nowhere described connectedly, but are summed up in the fable that "Parasūrāma destroyed all Kshatriyas off the earth twenty-one times". The Epic and Purānas are full of stories based on this fable. The later editors thought that the deplorable condition of India, which obtained subsequent to Parasūrāma and continued until Sagara's reign, was due to Parasūrāma and attributed all military exploits of Tālajanghas and Sagara to the Brahman warrior fictitiously. "But tradition", says Pargiter, "while apparently accepting that fable, redressed the honour of the Kshatriyas by two anachronistic fables, that Rāma challenged Rāma of Ayodhyā to fight and was defeated, and that he had a long contest with Bhīṣma also and was worsted". Pargiter: Loc.cit. Chapter XVII, p.200.

the Panjab. Moreover, invitations were extended to the various kingdoms in the Panjab for the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, performed by Daśaratha^(*). Daśaratha had four sons - Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Śatrughna. Rāma succeeded to the throne of Ayodhyā. The Kekaya kingdom went to Bharata, who was related to the Kaikeyas, his mother being a Kaikeya princess, though Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśa* states that he got the Sindhudeśa. Bharata's two sons Taksha and Pushkara had principalities at Takshasilā and Pushkalāvati respectively, both in Gāndhāra. Śatrughna and Rāma's sons Kuśa and Lava obtained kingdoms elsewhere. We hear no more of Ayodhyā hereafter; its history ended with these kings.

Quite different were the fortunes of the Pauravas now. The old main line, revived by Dushyanta and his son by Śakuntalā, the well-known Bharata, after whom all his descendants were called Bharatas, is now found in a new territory, the northern portion of the Ganges-Jumna Doab, with its capital at Hastināpura stated to have been founded by king Hastin. There was a great expansion of the Bharatas into new kingdoms of north Pañchāla with its capital at Ahichchhatra, south Pañchāla with its capital at Kāmpilya, Chedi and Magadha. In the main line at Hastināpura, from Hastin onwards down to the Pāndus, heroes of the Bhārata War, flourished many famous kings. The earliest of special

(*) *Rāmāyana* I, 13, 21-29.

note among them was Saṁvarana. Ayodhyā ceased to play an important part in the political life of India a little before his epoch. In north Pañchāla, however, which was a new Paurava foundation, there were about this time powerful kings like Srñjaya and Chyavana, third and fourth in descent from their ancestor Divodāsa. Their successor^(*) Sudāsa, who raised the Pañchāla kingdom to great importance,^(§) was a contemporary of Saṁvarana. He is said to have defeated Saṁvarana on the Jumna and driven him away from Hastināpura. Thereupon the latter formed a confederacy of numerous kings, including those of the Panjab, in order to put a check on Sudāsa's encroachments. It consisted of Pūru i.e. Saṁvarana, the Yādva (i.e. Yādava) king of Mathurā, the Śivas, i.e. Śivis, who were descendants of Anu, the Druhyus (i.e. kings of Gāndhāra), the Matsya kings (west of Śūrasena), Turvaśa (i.e. a Turvaśu prince) and others of lesser note. But all these kings were defeated by Sudāsa in a great battle on the river Ravi in the Panjab.^(o) Pūru (Saṁvarana) took shelter in a fort near the river Sindhu. Sudāsa then perished because

(*) Rgvedic Sudās according to Pargiter.

(§) Pūru of the Rgveda according to Pargiter.

(o) Mahābhārata Bk. I, 94, 3725-39; Rgveda Bk. VII, 18; 19, 3, 6, 8. Pargiter believes there is large agreement between the genealogy of the north Pañchāla kings and incidental references to many of them occurring in the Rgveda, which include Sudās, mentioned there in connection with the War of Ten Kings.

of his evil conduct and was succeeded by his son Sahadeva and his grandson Somaka, during whose time the kingdom of Pañchāla sank into insignificance and the tables of royal power were turned. Samvarana, a fugitive in the Panjab at this time, was able to recover his kingdom of Hastināpura with the help of Rshi Vasishtha, (*) which was then extended beyond Prayāga by his son Kuru. The Pañchālas were now subdued and the Puru kingdom was again raised to eminence. Kurukshetra and Kurujāṅgala, the names given to two territories in this kingdom, probably represent annexations made by Kuru. His name is further applied to his successors and also extended to the people, subjects of the Kurus. He was followed by his son Parīkshit (§) I, who was also very famous. Parīkshit's son, Janamejaya II, was weak, and the Kuru kingdom declined for a time. But it flourished again soon under Vasu, who is called Chaidya-uparichara, for he conquered the Yādava kingdom of Chedi and extended his realm eastwards as far as Magadha. "He divided his territories among his five sons, consisting of Magadha, Cēdi, Kauśāmbī, Kāruṣā and apparently Matsya. His eldest son, Bārhadratha, took Magadha, with Girivraja as his capital, and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there; and with it Magadha for

(*) Regarded as son of the Rgvedic Vasishtha, priest of Sudās.

(§) Kuru Parīkshit I The Purānas know of two Parīkshits and three Janamejayas in the Pūru dynasty, Parīkshit II and Janamejaya III being kings who ruled after the Bhārata War.

the first time took a prominent place in traditional history." (*)

About this time, the Yādavas, who had risen to great power under king Madhu in the waning days of Ayodhyā and whose territory extended from Gujarat to the Jumna, were represented by a number of small states like the Andhakas, Vṛshnis, Vidarbha, Avanti, Daśārṇa and Mahishmatī. Most of their princes, except among the Vṛshnis, were entitled Bhōjas. The chief of these states, however, were those of the Andhakas at Mathurā, whose descendants ruled down to Kāṁsa, killed by Kṛṣṇa, and of the Vṛshnis, who reigned probably at Dvārakā down to Akrūra.

After Vasu, the Pūrus or Kurus as they were now known, became eminent under Pratīpa and his son Śantanu. Śantanu is described in tradition as a pious man and an able king among the Kurus. His grandsons were Dhṛtarāshtra and Pāṇdu, whose descendants were the well-known Kauravas and Pāṇdavas of the Mahābhārata. The history of these times, leading up to the Bhārata War, is described at length in the Purāṇas and the Great Epic.

This in brief is the account of early Aryan dynasties based on later genealogies recorded in the Purāṇas and partly in the two Epics. Pargiter who has done much work on them believes that there are historical certainties in

(*) Pargiter, loc.cit. p.281 f.

the genealogies of ancient kings and that history obtained from them is really authentic. He has also drawn from his study several conclusions, which are highly controversial. Five of his main conclusions stated in his Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,^(§) are:

- (1) Historical tradition in Vedic literature is not more trustworthy than the Epic and Purāṇic tradition, except when it is contemporaneous with events mentioned therein. The former is essentially Brahmanical and the latter Kshatriya, and both are distinct and antagonistic to each other.
- (2) According to the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, which mainly deal with kings, the royal power first developed in the Gangetic plain, i.e., the mid-Himalayan region (Madhyadesa) and the earliest connection of the Vedas was with this region and not with the Panjab.
- (3) The Panjab, i.e., north-west India, was not regarded as an ancient home, nor with veneration or special esteem. The mid-Himalayan region was the sacred land. The Aryan occupation of the Panjab and the R̥gveda belong to a later age of westward expansion.
- (4) Indian tradition speaks of an Aila outflow, thereby suggesting a reverse origin for the Iranians, which is linguistically tenable, which harmonizes with the Boghaz-

(*) Such as kings of the Solar House were Dravidians; Brahmanism was a non-Aryan institution, etc.

(§) See Chapters I, V, and XXV.

-kōi treaty and which can account for their language and religion.

and therefore

- (5) the current theory that the Aryans invaded India through the north-west after separating from the Iranians is not tenable.

Undoubtedly the Purānic and Epic genealogies of early kings are interesting, and the whole reconstruction of Pargiter, of which an outline is given above, appears at first sight to harmonise with Vedic history. But it must be confessed that the genealogies, the very basis of this reconstructed history, lack proofs and that no great reliance can be placed on their historical credibility. If according to Pargiter there are in the Purānas genuine historical traditions of vast antiquity, we might have been able to find any remains of the related civilization, namely, that of the Ganges and Jumna. But so far nothing of the kind has been discovered, notwithstanding excavations of important old sites in this region.

On the other hand, we know that the country east of the Jumna has been Brahman-ridden since very ancient times and to an extent unknown elsewhere. It was in this part of India that the Purānas and Epics came into being in their present form. At an early stage of this domination, probably after the Bhārata War, Brahmans sought to exalt their

class and office and make it hereditary. This naturally led them to propitiate their rulers and patrons, the leaders of the Aryan kingdoms, perhaps the only rivals they had to fear. In order to win their full support they later on came to the ancient historical material of whatever kind was available, from the Sūtas, royal ~~wards~~ ^(*) made out for them fanciful divine genealogies from the Sun and Moon, and connected those, irrespective of time and space, with ancient kings, who could not possibly have any relation whatsoever. The Panjab furnishes a good illustration of such Brahmanical artificial genealogy. Anu, who is made a descendant of the Moon, became the ancestor of a number of royal dynasties or tribes of the Panjab. Eighth in descent from him, as we have seen above, was Uśīnara, who was followed by Śivi, the founder of the Śivis or Śibis. Śivi's descendants were Mādraka, Kēkaya, Suvīra and Vṛshadabha, who each founded a kingdom. But the Śivis and Uśīnaras are as old as the Anus; their names occur in the Rgveda, and the kings of the Śivis and Anus fought together against Sudās, so that all that the genealogy indicates is a concoction on the part of the later Brahmans, who with a desire to connect the Panjab kings at a certain unknown time with those mentioned in the ancient tradition like the Vedas secured for their ancestry a venerable antiquity

(*) History of the Aryans, according to the Purānic Brahmans, had theoretically no beginning. It was assumed to be as old as creation and there was no reason for marking out any event, otherwise than in the records of royal dynastic lists.

much as the Greeks and Romans loved to connect themselves with the heroes of their antique history. The Babylonian priest Berossus also composed in the third century B.C. his fictitious genealogies, which assigned to the Babylonian monarchy similar incredible antiquity. But his fiction became capable of refutation from many historians of repute, who preceded him. There was, however, no such check in India on the fabulists of the Purāṇas; rather the stream of legends, corrupt from the very start, filtered through ages of ignorance and has only been increased by fresh impurities. So the legendary history of India, which is very like the early centuries of ancient Babylon, Greece and Rome, must be carefully read and examined before it is admitted.

There is a suggestion that the Purāṇic genealogies came into being as the result of a growing sense of national unity, cemented by the revival of racial kinship. This suggestion is not plausible. There is a strong sense of racial kinship expressed in the Rgvedic opposition of 'Aryan colour' to 'Barbarian colour'; but it apparently produced no Purāṇas and no "sense of national unity". The latter never existed in ancient India except to some extent in the never wholly realised ideal of the chakravartin or sārva-bhauma found in the Brāhmaṇas and later. This ideal was half realised by the Mauryas, but in their Empire

there was no "national unity"; it was a conglomeration of states in various relations to the dominant State, which soon fell to pieces. The general faith in the supreme value of Aryan blood and tradition did nothing to create national unity. It was in order to safeguard this blood and tradition that the caste-system crystallised out. But this process began very early, before the Purāṇas assumed anything like their present form. Even^y, however, there was some such sense, the fact still remains, that the Purāṇic genealogies do not represent the actual conditions of the periods to which they profess to relate. They are indeed the laboured inventions of a much later age and their chronological and historical value must be admitted to be minimal, the real aim of the authors being to inculcate their religious ideas and glorify their patrons, not to record history.

Again an important fact which deserves special mention in this connection is the modern scientific criticism which refuses to allow an ancient date to the Epics and Purāṇas in their present form. Their statements concerning ancient times were written at so late an age that they cannot be reliable as those found in Vedic texts, which are indisputably very old. It may be observed of the Purāṇas generally that they perhaps immediately followed the era of the Atharvaveda, in which the earliest reference to Itihāsa-^(*)

(*) Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, Bk XV, 6, 11.

Purāṇa is met with. Purāṇa, as a kind of literature, is repeatedly mentioned along with Itihāsa in later Vedic texts, but there is nothing to show what this literature contained in the way of genealogies, and, in particular, whether it contained any historical matter at all at this early stage. In all probability it was religious and not secular, that is to say, dharma in its comprehensive sense was its contents. This is best shown by Āpastamba's four citations in his Dharma Sūtra, viz., three doctrines from an unnamed Purāṇa and one from the Bhaviṣhyat Purāṇa^(*). On the other hand, there is little evidence to show that the old purāṇic literature comprised among its contents ancient genealogies and history. But it is possible that the Purāṇic materials at an intermediate stage included some genealogies and historical (or semi-historical) stories. As we understand the course of events, some Brahmans collected various prāśastis, pedigrees, and tales from Sūtas who were in the service of divers kings, and on this rather slight basis they began to build a largely fictitious system of history, which was edited not very long after Mauryan times and re-edited for the last time under the early Guptas. The business of the Sūtas was (1) to drive the king's car, (2) to make pompous proclamation of the king's titles and ancestry on solemn occasions, and (3) to recite old

(*) Bühler's second edition of Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtra, Bombay, 1892 - I, 6 § 19, § 13; I, 10 § 29, § 7; II, 9, 23, 3-5; II, 9, 24, 3-6. For the translation of the passages, see Sacred Books of the East, vol II, pp. 70, 90, 156-7, and 158.

stories of the glories of the race. They themselves were often half Brahmans well-versed in Sanskrit (hence their position in the caste-system), and would readily give professional information to inquiring Brahmans. We think thus that the Brahmans incorporated in their Purāṇic scheme a considerable amount of old tradition collected from Sūtas, which they padded out with a vast amount of their own invention. The theory of Prakrit and Kshatriya origin of the ancient historical material incorporated after alterations in the *Purāṇas* by Brahmans is, therefore, one which rests on no foundation.

Further, we must take it for granted that Purāṇa together with Itihāsa was a branch of study which was popular with Brahmans. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad, (*) we have the Nārada-Sanatakumāra dialogue, wherein Nārada says "I have studied the R̥gveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, Grammar, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Science of War and so on". Nor can we think, after Pargiter, that there were differences between traditions handed down by Brahmans and Kshatriyas. These, as it is well known, formed two elements in Aryan society, and were not two different people. They always stood in ancient times to each other as friends, and were equally interested in mutual welfare. In short, there is very little consideration to be made in

(*) Edited with translation by O. Böhtlingk. Leipzig 1889, vii, 1.

the discrimination of their traditions, especially in times when caste had not assumed a rigid form and created the cleavage among the classes.

From what has been said above it is certain that the Purāṇas have existed from very early times, though we do not know their names current in the age of the later Vedic texts. (*)

The whole position of the ancient tradition in early Vedic literature and the Purāṇas, their comparative antiquity and value, in brief, has been very well explained by Prof. Keith thus in reply to Pargiter's notes—

"(1) These texts, viz. the Samhitas and the Brāhmanas, before, say, 600 B.C., are not books of historic purpose; they are ritual in purpose and their historical references are incidental; for this reason, when contemporary, they are of great value; when they refer to past events they represent the Vedic tradition, the value of which cannot be discounted by persistence in a misconceived reference to Professor Macdonell's remarks as to the period, after the date of the Brāhmanas, when pessimism became part of the Indian view of life. (2) The Puranas are texts not one of which can be dated as early as A.D. 300 and which are very possibly much later. They contain the tradition of a much later period than the Vedic texts and represent the result of both priestly and popular development of tradi-

(*) There is only one name Bhavishyat obtained from Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtra, which is dated from before the second century to the fifth century B.C. (See Sacred Books of the East Vol XIV, p xlii and Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p.301)

tion since the Vedic age. Their material, so far as it purports to represent events which fall in that age, can be divided into three classes: (a) statements which are consistent with Vedic references; (b) statements which are inconsistent with such references; (c) statements which have no counterpart in any form in the Vedic texts. To contradict Vedic tradition by texts of class(b), i.e. by texts of 1,000 years later, is contrary to all sane criticism; to accept as true statements of class (c) is to confound the possible with the actual, and to open the way to innumerable varieties of reconstruction of the legends." (*)

Pargiter, however, believes that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, who compiled the R̥gveda and three other Vedas early in the tenth century B.C., also compiled a Purāna and composed the Mahābhārata. (§) But it must be noted that the date of all these works could never be about the same as that of Vyāsa, himself a legendary figure without a date, or even as that of the Sūtas, by whom the Purānas and the Epic are said to have been recited in the tradition. (o) That was done intentionally to place the origin of the later works very far back. As a matter of fact the great

(*) J.R.A.S., 1915, p.331.

(§) Loc.cit., Chapter XXVI, p.318; Chapter II, pp.21-22.

(o) Ibid., Chapter II, p.22.

drawback in Indian literature is the complete absence of any chronological data. India has been since long dominated by a hierarchy, and it was not till after the minor states gradually melted together into a northern empire in the fourth century B.C. that any history was composed, literature flourished, or any dates were given.

The Brahman scholars that sprang up under the patronage of great kings after this time examined the works of

their predecessors, which gave rise to the first enquiry as also made varied interpolations in them that suited new times into the past, and dates were given to every old work that and their doctrines

had hitherto been composed and recast. But since the language of these was archaic, since nothing could be really known of the true dates, and since a great reverence was attached to them, the dates given by later scholars to the now altered earlier works were purely fictitious and as remote as possible. Among others which received this distinction were the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. No actual numerical date was stated for them, but they were unhesitatingly attributed to the same personage, Kṛṣṇa Dvīpāyana Vyāsa, who was known to have compiled the Vedas. There is no reason for doubting the actual existence of such a person in ancient India, but that he was really the author or compiler of works of different periods, such as the Vedas, the Mahābhārata, the Vedānta, the Purāṇas, is impossible of acceptance. If it were so, the Brāhmanas,

Āraṇyakas, Upanishads or Sūtras should not have "passed over this great achievement in silence".

Furthermore, it is suspicious that not only the Purāṇas, which profess to contain genealogies of old kings and their history, made out later, have been ascribed to the legendary author, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, but the chronology of kings too is very much disordered. This confusion is notably displayed in the line of Kuru's son Parīkṣhit. The son of the latter, Janamejaya, and his three sons or brothers, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena, who all, together with Parīkṣhit himself, in reality flourished after the Bhārata War, have been shown in the Epic as well as Purāṇic tradition as ancestors of the Pāṇḍus. Pargiter himself admits that the early genealogies are mutually inconsistent in chronology and are different in some lines. The number of kings in each House varies, and names are transposed. (*) It is rather fortunate than regrettable that their chronology is confused and is inconsistent. This very fact shows that the genealogies are productions of various authors, borrowing from one another and also fabricating according to their respective needs. Another remarkable thing about them is that they are mixed up with the lines of rshis and mythological pedigrees. (§) Hence to treat such hopelessly confused genealogies as

(*) Cf. Pargiter in Commemorative Essays presented to Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Poona, 1917, pp.107-8. "The question naturally arises whether the genealogies are worthy of credence. They

(Notes continued)

real and to build history on their weak foundation is explicable only on the assumption that those who do so ignore all the principles of historical evidence.

Modern critical scholars are therefore justified in not attaching great importance to these miraculous genealogies and the conclusions drawn therefrom by Pargiter. They rightly reject the authority of the Purānas and the authenticity of the secular tradition recorded therein for very early periods of Indian history, especially in regard to the origin, settlement and migration of the Aryans. It is difficult to understand the expansion of Manu's posterity from Ayodhyā, which is not inconveniently situated as a commanding position, whence emigration might proceed to the east, the west and the south. In this connection we would quote here H.H. Wilson's observation, which aptly refers to this subject, made in his Preface to the Translation of the Vishnu Purāna:—^(o)

"The circumstances that are told (in the Purānas and Epics) of the first princes have evident relation to the colonization of India, and the gradual extension of the authority of new races over an uninhabited or uncivilized region. It is commonly admitted that the Brahmanical

(Note (*) continued) are plainly open to the objection that the long list of kings are rather shadowy, and that their earliest portions are mythical and enveloped in fables. Such of course they must be, because genuine traditions of the earliest times can hardly be anything better, since there were no means in India of making permanent records contemporaneously; and because such traditions cannot escape the natural tendency in man to make mistakes, to magnify the past and to distort ancient stories into fables."

(§) Pargiter: Loc.cit., Chapter V, pp. 69-70. (o) pp lxv - lxvi.

(Aryan) religion and civilization were brought into India from without. Certainly, there are tribes on the borders, and in the heart of the country, who are still not Hindus (Aryans); and passages in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and Manu, and the uniform traditions of the people themselves, point to a period when Bengal, Orissa and the whole of the Dakhin, were inhabited by degraded or outcaste, that is, by barbarous tribes. The traditions of the Purānas confirm these views, but they lend no assistance to the determination of the question whence the Hindus (Aryans) came; whether from a central Asiatic nation, as Sir Wm. Jones supposed, or from the Caucasian mountains, the plains of Babylonia, or the borders of the Caspian, as conjectured by Klaproth, Vans Kennedy and Schlegel. The affinities of the Sanskrit language prove a common origin of the now widely scattered nations amongst whose dialects they are traceable, and render it unquestionable that they must all have spread abroad from some central spot in that part of the globe first inhabited by mankind, according to the inspired record. Whether any indication of such an event be discoverable in the Vedas, remains to be determined; but it would have been obviously incompatible with the Paurānik system to have referred the origin of Indian princes and principalities to other than native sources. We need not therefore expect from them any information as to the foreign derivation of the Hindus (Aryans)."

In spite of all this, Pargiter looks upon the Purāṇic literature, where ancient conditions are distorted so as to suit new ideas, as not only containing very early, nay even pre-Rgvedic, traditions, but as being also more reliable than those in Vedic texts. He has, in fact, attached too much importance and weight to the Puranas and unjustifiably condemned Vedic tradition, which, though unconnected and incomplete, is generally trustworthy, for it is well preserved and is almost contemporary.

It must be clearly understood that the Purāṇic division of India among the sons of Manu, which Pargiter has accepted, does not represent history. It must be rejected as a later theory started in accordance with a state of things that existed in the Madhyadeśa at the time or times of the composition of the Epics and Purāṇas, that is to say, when all memory of the ancestors having come from the west outside India had been lost. In the Rgveda we have a distinct mention that the Pūrus were settled on the Ravi in the Panjab. Pūru, therefore, could not have got the territory round Pratiśthāna as is stated in the Purāṇas. Yayāti's division of India among his five sons is also an incredible story, as is the subsequent positions of the tribes of the Pūrus, Yadus, Anus, Turvasas and Druhyus at later periods, which misled the editors of the Purāṇas and Epics. It appears that the last positions of these tribes were taken to be their first positions in the story of Yayāti.

Pargiter himself has observed, "These positions agree with the subsequent notices of the Yādavas, Druhyus and Anavas."

Moreover, the migration of the Aryans into India by way of the central Himalayas, as suggested by Pargiter, is a physical impossibility. (*) The Aryans who entered India were very numerous. How could they transport themselves, their wives and their children, their cattle, their horses, etc. over passes which are crossed with difficulty by small bands on foot? geographically the transit of the Himalayas offers severe obstacles. There are only two or three passes in Kumaon and Garhwal over which ponies can be transported, and that with some difficulty. These passes lead to the elevated and barren Tibetan plateau. The ruggedness of the country does not permit of an irrigation. They are only open for a few months after the melting of the snow, and even as trade routes they add very little to the foreign trade of India. But the middle Himalayan ranges became to the later Aryans, especially to their Brahmans in Madhyadesā, the abode of the great gods and the Gandharvas; from these the river Mandākinī (Ganges) was born. The legends and fables about the so called progenitor Purūravas Aila were associated with the Gandharvas; the places he frequented were the mountains Gandhamādana and Meru, the Uttara Kuru, the Nandana forests, etc., all these associated with the Gandharvas. To connect gods, ancient peoples and

(*) Loc.cit. Chapter XXV, pp. 297-98.

persons with the middle Himalayan region would be most natural to Madhyadeśa Brahmins.

This explains why the history of the Purānic dynasties started from Pratishthāna (Prayāga). As we know, the Purānas were redacted in more or less their present form (at least as regards the historical matter) in eastern Madhyadeśa. The centre of Brahman orthodoxy in earlier times was Kuru-Pañchāla-Vāsa-Uśīnara, i.e. western and central Madhyadeśa; so in the Brāhmanas. A trace of this early location appears in the preface of Vāyu Purāna, which says this Purāna was recited in Naimishāranya by the river Drshadvatī. But the Mahābhārata (*) says, "Kuravah saha-Pañchālah Śālvā Matsyās cha Naimishāh Chedayas cha mahābhaga dharman jānanti śāśvatam" - which widens the area. The same (§) Epic elsewhere locates Naimishāranya on the river Gomati, i.e., the Guntī, which enters the Ganges near Benares. Thus in the time when the later parts of the Epic were composed, after Mauryan times, the legendary centre had become the Prayāga-Benares region. So when the Purānas say the dynasties started from Pratishthāna, they show that they too were redacted in that region about the same time as the later Epic and under the same conditions. Naturally the redactors of these works in the eastern Madhyadeśa re-

(*) Book VIII, 45, With slight variations in different editions.

(§) Bk XII, 357, A.S.B. edition 1837.

presented all the Ailas (i.e. all the important dynasties) as originating thence.

As regards the mention of the Rgvedic gods in the Boghaz-köi inscriptions, which is regarded by Pargiter as proving that these are Indo-Aryan gods introduced into Asia Minor as the result of an outflow of the Druhyus, a frontier people of the Panjab, it may be said that we have here indubitably the names of the gods practically in the forms in which they survive in the Rgveda, i.e. Old Indian, and without the phonetic changes which characterise Old Iranian. But it does not follow that these forms are exclusively Vedic Indian, they may equally well have been in use among other tribes akin to the Indo-Iranians outside India. The Aryan speech, we already know, was spoken in parts of western Asia, where dialectical differences sprang up owing to contact with different racial elements. The fragments of Mitannic and Kassite speech akin to Aryan represented developments thereof. These gods, as is shown above, very possibly belonged to the period before the separation of Indian and Iranic Aryans and were thus pan-Aryan. Most probably these Aryan gods were in use among many tribes in north-western India, Iran and further away still; and one such tribe, the Mitanni, living to the north of Syria, made a marriage alliance with a Hittite king, and in the treaty of alliance the names of their gods were introduced. With this hypothesis,

there is no reason to imagine, as Pargiter would have it, that these Boghaz-köi gods were carried to the west by a tribe issuing from the Panjab. Moreover if this account of the Aryanization of Iran on western Asia be accepted, we would have to assume a numerically large outflow. But we have few, if any, examples of such a large scale emigration out of the Panjab; the movement of peoples in historical times has generally been into that land.

Rather at the time in question the Aryans in the Panjab had still the Northern and Southern India to colonize.

Nevertheless in the Purānas and Epics, which we do not look upon as trustworthy authorities for the construction of Indian history in its very early periods, there is much material, the value of which, it is needless to say, is very great as a source for post-Bhārata War times for the history of peoples and creeds in India. The historical material specifies later kings and dynasties, and also sometimes offers political particulars regarding them. Thus there is a detailed description of the later Pūrus, who reigned at first at Hastināpur and afterwards moved to Kausambi, in the Mahābhārata and Purānas; and their contemporaries the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā and the Bārhadrathas of Magadha, together with other contemporary kingdoms, are mentioned in the Purānas summarily with the lists of kings or statements of the number of their reigns. Later prominent dynasties like the Mauryas, Śūngas, Kānvas,

Andhras and Guptas also find some place. Besides, we come across numerous historical notices in the Epics^(*) and Purānas about the local dynasties in India; for example, they refer to the dynasties of the Panjab, such as the Bāhlikas, Śālvās, Madras, Kaikeyas, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, etc. and to the foreigners like the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushānas and Hūnas, who reigned in the Panjab almost in succession from the second century B.C. down to the sixth century A.D. This historical material is no doubt considerably confused, but when it is checked according to modern methods of research and taken with caution, it certainly yields results of great use to a historian. We shall consider all the notices in this tradition relevant to our history in the succeeding chapters.

(*) The Mahābhārata in this respect is most helpful, for its present version associates most of the dynasties and nations in India, including even the remotest ones, Aryanised much later and also the later foreign invaders of the Panjab, with the War between the Kurus and Pāndus, fought about 1000 B.C. at least.